

The Hispanic American Historical Review

Vol. XX

February, 1940

No. 1

EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

At the December, 1939, meeting of the boards of editors of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW Mr. Arthur P. Whitaker of the University of Pennsylvania was elected to take the place of Mr. A. S. Aiton of the University of Michigan on the active Board of Editors. Mr. Aiton's term of service has embraced only five of the customary six years, because a meeting of the editors was not held at the proper time six years ago. Both Mr. Aiton and Mr. Whitaker are veteran members of the Board and have never hesitated to give concrete help to the REVIEW. It is no small satisfaction that so prompt and active an editor as Mr. Aiton is being followed by another whose sound advice and editorial aid are also readily available.

The ever-increasing publication in the field of Hispanic-American history has made it exceedingly difficult to conduct the REVIEW without the aid of expert research assistance. Mr. Gustave A. Nuermberger, a soundly trained specialist in Hispanic-American history and reference librarian of Duke University, was recommended and elected to the office of Research Associate, created by the Board of Editors in their last meeting. The need for a reporter, particularly at the nation's capital, in the sphere of foreign and domestic notes has become scarcely less pressing. For this purpose Mr. Chester L. Guthrie was named to collaborate with Mr. Roscoe R. Hill in making such information available to Hispanists in the United States.

The year 1940 is marked for many centennial celebrations. To many Americans, particularly those in the Southwest, it means the fourth centenary of the expedition of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado. For this reason a number of articles and documents relating both to the historical event and the celebrations are appearing in this number of the *REVIEW*. The August issue will be devoted almost exclusively to the history of Portuguese expansion and Portuguese America as a feature of the Centennial Celebrations being sponsored in the United States by Dr. João Antonio de Bianchi, Portuguese Minister in Washington.

SOME CULTURAL ASSETS OF LATIN AMERICA*

It may be desirable to begin with a definition of terms. Cultural coöperation between nations implies a mutual interest in, a mutual desire to understand, and a mutual effort to disseminate knowledge of each other's civilization. Viewed from our side of the question, cultural coöperation with Latin America implies, on our part, a desire to understand the civilization of our southern neighbors, and a friendly willingness to assist interested Latin Americans toward understanding ours.

A nation's culture comprises the whole body of its civilization, its way of life, its modes of thought, its religious mold, its social structure, its manner of artistic, spiritual and intellectual expression. It embodies the sum total of the nation's heritage from the remote and the less remote past. If we as educators regard history as useless baggage, as some of us profess, then the subject of culture is no concern of this conference. For a people's culture is the sublimation of its history. But I am sure that such spokesmen represent only a small minority of our membership.

It is not necessary before this audience to enumerate the reasons for wishing to understand another people's culture. We may study it in an effort to find the roots of our own civilization, or we may prize it for its contrasts with our own. Best of all, we go to it for stimulation, and for breadth of outlook upon the great World of which any one of us is so infinitesimal a part, and of which any one nation's civilization is but a minor portion. We learn from the World in order to be modest about ourselves.

Then, there is a political consideration which cannot be overlooked. International understanding makes for friendship. And, God knows, just now every nation needs friends. Most of our dislikes are based on lack of acquaintance. Some

* Delivered before the Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Education, Washington, D. C., November 9, 1939.

one said, "I hate that man, and I don't want to get acquainted with him for fear I shall like him." What is true of neighbor individuals may be equally true of neighbor nations.

Our interests in Latin-American culture are analogous to our concern with the culture of other parts of the World. We want to know the best that mankind has produced through the ages, and to understand ourselves in relation to other peoples. We travel in Europe, study Old World history, its art, literature, and institutions, for the fine things they represent, to copy or to adapt, or at least to appreciate, and that we may become intelligent.

We go to Greece, as to the fountain-head of our own cultural life. We visit the Parthenon and the temples at Olympia. Sublime in themselves, we perceive in them also the patterns which our own architecture has repeated throughout the centuries.

We go to Rome, as to the embodiment of power, of empire, and of eternity. There we see not one city, but many cities, built one upon another, and get thereby a longer perspective on the past of mankind.

To learn from the Mohammedan World, we journey to Agra, to see that incomparable monument which Shah Jehan raised to his queen—the Taj Mahal, that silver-white fabric of marble which rests so lightly upon the earth that it seems forever about to soar into the sky.

Paris beckons us. Here we visit the Louvre to view the Titians in the Grand Gallery, and to wander in the halls of sculpture, where Venus de Milo has her special shrine. We visit the tomb of Napoleon, now perhaps, in the light of recent events, getting from it a revised notion of military glory.

In London we visit the British Museum, to view the delicate scroll-work of the Flemish manuscript-makers, and to marvel at the rare book treasures, that are more precious than rubies and diamonds or than silver and gold. We wander down Fleet Street, sit in the Cheshire Cheese, haunt of Johnson and Goldsmith; or of an evening in Chelsea, with the Thames rippling under Battersea Bridge, we watch the light glowing through the blue mist, and hope that, if only in some slight degree, we may understand Whistler.

We study the masters of European literature: Socrates, who equipped thought with a new method, Dante, who recreated Heaven and Hell, Shakespeare, who laid bare all the emotions of the human heart.

Latin America, as well as Asia and Europe, has much of value for us Nordics. Our southern neighbors have a superb civilization. With them we have many things in common, because of common or analogous origins; but in a thousand ways their culture complements our own, and offers the stimulus and enrichment that spring from contrast and variety.

But we in the United States could not approach appraisal of Latin-American civilization in a right frame of mind until we had divested ourselves of many false ideas, bred in our bones, through the distorted and chauvinistic writing and teaching of Western Hemisphere history. For of course our notions of Latin-American culture were colored by those of Latin America's past.

Till recently we all were taught that Spain and Portugal failed as colonizers in the New World; that the Spaniards came to America as gold-seekers, whereas the English came to build homes; that the Spaniards and Portuguese did not colonize but merely explored; that they killed off all the Indians; that Columbus discovered America, Ponce de León reached Florida, St. Augustine was founded in 1565, and that was the end of Spain; that most of Spain's colonies in America were conquered by always victorious England and the United States.

Now, of course, we know better. Now we know that all the old homes built by Europeans in America—that is, all the sixteenth-century homes—are in Latin America, in the Caribbean Islands, in Mexico, Panamá, Bogotá, Asunción, Santiago, Bahía—and not in Jamestown, or Boston, or Philadelphia, or Charleston. We used to call St. Augustine the oldest city in America. But now we know that there are a hundred older ones, still in existence.

Now we know that Harvard was not the first college founded in America, but that there were more than a half dozen older than she; that the first astronomical observatory

was not operated in the English colonies, but in Bogotá, queen city of Colombia.

Now we know that Spain and Portugal colonized America extensively and permanently. Columbus himself brought to America two thousand colonists, the Mayflower only a hundred—prolific of descendants, it is true. By the end of the sixteenth century there were 200,000 Spaniards living in America, before either England or France had a single settler in the Western Hemisphere. Spain and Portugal colonized America so permanently that two-thirds of the entire Western Hemisphere are still Spanish and Portuguese in speech, institutions, culture, and to a large extent in race stock—all the way from the Rio Grande to the Strait of Magellan.

Now we know that the Spaniards did not kill off all the Indians, and that, quite to the contrary, about the only places where there are any Indians left are those regions occupied by Spain and Portugal. It was the English—my ancestors—who so ruthlessly killed off the natives, and the Latin peoples who preserved them. This explains why Mexico, Ecuador, and Peru still have so large an Indian element in their population.

Now we know that Spain did not lose all her colonies by conquest at the hand of the divinely-chosen Nordics. England and the United States merely shaved off the northern fringes of Spanish America—the region of our southern Borderlands, which at best were only defensive and missionary outposts of Spain. This area was merely the tail of the Spanish-American dog. The real Spanish America lay between the Rio Grande and Patagonia. This vast area was lost to Spain not by foreign conquest, but by revolution, just as the Thirteen Colonies were lost by England.

We have been given exaggerated notions of the relative importance of early English America, as contrasted with the colonies of Portugal and Spain. So it shocked us to learn that as late as the opening of the nineteenth century only two of the ten largest cities of America were in the United States; that until that date Mexico City was the metropolis of the entire Western Hemisphere; that Mexico, Lima, Buenos Aires, and Bahia all stood ahead of Philadelphia and New York in population; that Boston then stood twenty-sixth in

the list, below Kingston, Jamaica, and below more than a score of Latin-American cities.

The historical background of Latin America, by which its culture has been shaped, has many things in common with our own. This makes it easier for us to understand and to appreciate our southern neighbors.

All the present day American nations began as colonies from the Old World. Europeans settled on the land, transplanted their institutions and adjusted themselves to a New World environment. This was true alike of Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch, and English America. Governments were set up, cities founded, natives and natural resources utilized, religious institutions perpetuated, schools and colleges begun.

The Spanish and Portuguese colonies, as well as those of England, participated in the American Revolution, an epoch which lasted, not seven years, but fifty, from 1776 to 1826. In that half century Washington freed thirteen of the thirty English colonies; Bolívar, San Martín, Hidalgo, Morelos, and Iturbide liberated the Spanish colonies, and Pedro I established the independence of Portuguese America. Thus Spanish, Portuguese and English America have the common tradition of an American struggle for independence from Europe. It is this common history and common ideology which have formed the basis for a Western-Hemisphere political doctrine. It was this which made possible a successful Lima Conference.

This common revolutionary experience is even closer than I have intimated. On the one hand Latin America imbibed much of its impulse from our Saxon ancestors. On the other hand, we owe to our Latin-American forefathers the independence of about a fourth of our own territory. We have been taught that the American Revolution was fought and won by Washington and his comrades in arms. Now we know that Washington liberated only a very small fraction of America. Territorially considered, the Greater American Revolution was in Latin America. Washington freed from Europe the eastern third of the United States, as far west as the Mississippi River. The middle third was liberated by Napoleon, when he tossed the great prairies and plains into Jefferson's

lap by the so-called Louisiana Purchase. Poor Kansas! Poor Minnesota, and all those prairie states! No Declaration of Independence, no George Washington, no Revolutionary heroes, except by adoption! The rest of the United States, and all of America from Oregon to Patagonia was freed by our Latin-American forefathers—by Pedro I, of Brazil, by Bolívar and San Martín of Spanish South America, and by Hidalgo, Morelos, and Iturbide of Mexico. Independence was first celebrated in California, for example, not in 1776, but in 1822. California, like all our Southwest, has two Liberty Bells—one in Philadelphia, which we Westerners revere, but possess only through our adoption; and one in Mexico City, the one which was rung for our freedom by Hidalgo in 1810. In a large portion of our country we have two independence days, one on the 4th of July, through our adoption, and one on the 16th of September in our own right. For we in all the Southwest owe our independence from Europe to our Mexican forefathers.

By this Greater American Revolution a score of American nations came into existence. Since separation from Europe they all have been travelling at varied paces along the same road; all have been striving on the one hand for national solidarity, political stability, economic and social well being, and on the other hand, for a satisfactory adjustment of relations with each other and with the rest of the world—that is, for a place under the sun.

All these nations alike, in the 19th century, achieved their economic development largely through foreign immigration and foreign capital. One result of this immigration is that English America is no longer English, Spanish America no longer Spanish, and Portuguese America no longer Portuguese. All the way from Chile to Canada new race stocks have mingled themselves and their cultural traits with those of the founders.

Culture is the epitome of history. And from each of these great historical epochs America south of us has a precious cultural heritage well worthy of our appreciation.

Latin America has antiquities which can be mentioned alongside of the most remarkable of Asia, Africa, or Europe. There is Chichen Itza, in Yucatán, holy city of Kukulcán, the

god of the feathered serpent. There is Teotihuacán, the Place of the Gods, the glory of the Toltec age and of Mexican archaeology. More impressive still are pre-Inca Machu Picchu; and Cuzco, capital of the Inca Empire, with its Temple of the Sun.

Colonial Latin America everywhere produced exquisite cities, which now combine the old culture with the new: Mexico, long the metropolis of the New World, Bahia, oldest city of continuous existence in mainland America, a Portuguese Mecca, with "A church for every day in the year"; Antigua, first capital of Guatemala, one of the finest flowers of colonial civilization, embellished by public buildings, plazas, and a university, and by half a hundred sumptuous churches and monasteries. And even the great earthquake of 1773, which left the place in ruins, could not wholly destroy the beauty of such structures as the Cloisters of La Merced. It was here that Dr. and Mrs. Popenoe effected their remarkably sympathetic reconstruction of an old colonial mansion, whose story is told by Louis Adamic in *The House in Antigua*.

Latin America has produced an impressive literature, colonial and modern. In the sixteenth century Ercilla y Zúñiga of Chile wrote *La Araucana*, one of the great epic poems of all time; and the Mexican woman, Sister Juana de la Cruz, for her poetry was called the "Tenth Muse." The Revolutionary Era spoke eloquently through Heredia, Cuba's great bard. Argentina's José Hernández established in letters for all time the place of the Gaucho; Mexico's Gutiérrez de Nájera was the precursor of the Modernist School, and Nicaragua's Rubén Darío is its unchallenged master. To the list of American novelists, Uruguay contributed a celebrated trio. Chile's Blest Gana well merits his title of the American Balzac. In Peru, Clorinda Matto wrote the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of the Indian; in Mexico, Azuela, using the novel as his medium, continues to depict the revolution of the twentieth century.

Mexico has always been famous for its painters. Echave was called the Mexican Titian, and Ibarra, for his brilliant coloring, was dubbed the Western-Hemisphere Murillo. Today Mexico City has become the center for what is called the only

important genuinely American style of painting developed since colonial days. Rivera and Orozco, chief exponents of this school, conceive art as primarily a vehicle for education. The Rivera fresco in the Palace of Mexico, by the way, is a copy of the panel in Radio City destroyed by the Rockefellers. It is noteworthy that among the high lights of the art of Treasure Island were the murals of Covarrubias, the young Mexican painter, in Pacific House, the theme pavilion of the Exposition.

Our sister Republics have many modern centers for scholarly research and for artistic and literary instruction. There are distinguished universities, law schools, and medical schools. Of medical science and practice Dr. William J. Mayo, of Rochester fame, was able to write some fifteen years ago in the following eulogistic terms: "After a trip to South America, where I visited some of the important surgical clinics of Peru, Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay . . . , I take this opportunity to pay merited homage to these men of science, learned in surgery. . . . Their hospitals and operating rooms are the equals of any representative group from any country in the world. They have the intuitive clarity of thought and facile mastery of technique which we associate, and rightly, with the French and Italian schools. . . . Their medical schools are splendid institutions with a seven year course, and are the equals in equipment and methods of theoretic teaching of any in the world. . . . The hospital records are the best I have ever seen." Such is the opinion of the celebrated Dr. Mayo.

Latin America has great libraries, immensely rich historical archives of Church and State, and superb museum collections unique of their kind: Mexico's National Museum, in its field without an equal in the World; Lima's Archaeological Museum, comparable to that of Cairo; the Natural History Museum of Buenos Aires, rich in both science and history; the Mitre Museum of Fine Arts; the Botanical Garden at Rio de Janeiro, established in the colonial era by King John VI, and said to be equalled only by that of Juitzenzorg in Java.

Out of this unparalleled colonial background—unparalleled in all the history of colonial expansion anywhere in the World

in any period of time—has come lusty, vigorous, thriving twentieth-century Latin America, with fabulous natural resources, a population of a hundred million, and great centers of industrial life. Santiago, modern and gay, with its million people, its handsome new buildings and its cosmopolitan atmosphere, testifies to Chile's remarkable vitality in the face of the depression of the last decade. São Paulo, chief coffee center of the World, with its nearly two million citizens, its huge factories and its tremendous building program, as a complement to its northern sister is called "the Chicago of Brazil." Rio de Janeiro, in setting and coloring so beautiful that superlatives remain inadequate, is one of the most sophisticated of all the World's capitals. Buenos Aires, by virtue of its three million inhabitants the third city of the Western Hemisphere, is a metropolis whose cosmopolitan character is indicated by its seventy-two daily papers published in Spanish and twenty-three in foreign languages.

Needless to say that with such a past and such a present, a vital and distinctive twentieth-century culture is being forged in the lands that lie south of the Rio Grande.

These are but hit-and-miss suggestions of the splendid tradition underlying the civilization of the Latin-American Republics, neighbors whose assets we have never fully appreciated. How to share in them is the question before this conference. The answer to the problem is—get acquainted, by every available means, with the charming people, their beautiful languages, their amazing land, and their impressive culture.

HERBERT E. BOLTON.

University of California,
Berkeley.

THE INFLUENCE OF HORACE MANN ON THE EDUCATIONAL IDEAS OF DOMINGO FAUSTINO SARMIENTO

"We Argentines," declared Ricardo Rojas, "consider Sarmiento as the first apostle of primary education in South America."¹ Sarmiento himself many times confessed his indebtedness in this apostleship to Horace Mann whom he described as "the Apostle Horace,"² and "the Saint Paul" of education.³ He compared himself—in his dissemination of the ideas of Horace Mann in South America—to a bird of passage which picks up the seed and transports it to distant countries "as they say that the plants in distant islands of Oceania have been propagated."⁴ In a letter to Mrs. Mann—the original in English—he wrote:

I am writing also a History of the Schools and Education in South America, which I intend to get published in the English language. In

¹ Ricardo Rojas, ed., *Biblioteca Argentina*, Vol. VI, *Educación Popular* by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, p. 11 of "Noticia preliminar."

² Sarmiento to Mrs. Horace Mann, Providence, November 27, 1865. "Cartas de Sarmiento," *Boletín de la Academia Argentina de Letras*, IV, 350. The originals of these letters written by Sarmiento to Mrs. Mann, 147 in Spanish and a score in English, are now in the Biblioteca Nacional in Buenos Aires, bound into three large volumes. They were discovered in Washington in 1933 in the house of an antiquarian by the Costa Rican diplomat and scholar, Sr. Manuel González Zeledón. Sr. González brought them to the attention of the Argentine authorities with the result that they were acquired by the Argentine nation. Alberto Palcos, "El Epistolario de Sarmiento; sus cartas a la viuda de Horacio Mann, etc.," *La Prensa* (Buenos Aires), December 2, 1934. The letters have been printed in the *Boletín de la Academia Argentina de Letras*, Vols. III and IV, Nos. 9 to 16, inclusive. Those in English, printed in IV, No. 16, pp. 589-656, are rather poorly edited. This correspondence will hereafter be cited as "Cartas," *Boletín*.

³ Sarmiento to Mrs. Mann, New York, May 26, 1867. "Cartas," *Boletín*, III, 217.

⁴ Sarmiento to Mrs. Mann, January 23, —, *ibid.*, IV, 85. The passage reads: "Había demorado escribirle, esperando que me pusiesen marco a la fotografía de la Escuela Sarmiento que acabo de recibir i que quiero esté colgada en su salon, como un fruto maduro de esa buena semilla que sembró Mr. Mann aqui, i una ave de pasaje recojió i fue a deponer en paises lejanos, como dicen que se han propagado las plantas en las islas de la Oceania."

my opinion, it would be very advantageous for the people here to know what we have being [*sic*] doing to follow on the steps of Mr. Mann and to extend over to those countries the mighty revolution operated by him in this country, and of the difficulties we had to contend with.⁵

In view of the importance of Sarmiento's activities in South America in the field of education and of his own acknowledgment of indebtedness to Horace Mann, it becomes a matter of some interest to examine the origin, the nature, and the extent of Mann's influence.

Rojas describes Mann as Sarmiento's "twin in the North."⁶ It is true that they shared an intense, almost holy, zeal for the furtherance of popular education, preaching the cause of schools with evangelical fervor. It is true that they were both liberals in religion. But in other respects, what unidentical "twins" they were! Mann tall, spare, of frail constitution, handsome with a noble brow over a kindly face,⁷ quiet, modest, sensitive and of "delicate organization,"⁸ an ascetic in his tastes, dedicated to "the progressive character of the human race"; Sarmiento large, almost obese, unprepossessing in appearance, never failing to state his opinions with vigor and fire, truculent, and conceited.⁹ Perhaps these

⁵ New York, September 23, 1865. *Ibid.*, IV, 595. Italics by the authors of the article.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, p. 11.

⁷ An unidentified friend said "It was heaven to look into his face." Mary Tyler Peabody Mann, *Life of Horace Mann* (Boston, 1888), p. vii.

⁸ "His sensibilities were of exquisite delicacy. . . . A woman could not weep bitterer tears over the disappointment. This tenderness of his character can only be equalled by the moral force with which he assailed whatever he saw to be wrong in the world." *Ibid.*, pp. vi, vii.

⁹ In his *Viajes*, written in 1855, B. Vieuña Mackenna, Chilean scholar, described Sarmiento thus: "Of true talent he has very little, common sense not an atom, and his vanity is not surpassed in all the Pampa." Quoted by J. Guillermo Guerra, *Sarmiento, su vida i sus obras* (Santiago de Chile, 1901), p. 359. This writer on p. 144, speaks of Sarmiento's "vanity without limits." An Argentine, Pablo Groussac, wrote of Sarmiento's style in fighting for education: "He spent a warrior's energy for his work of concord and pacification. He inaugurated a school as if it were a bastion—and it really was that in his mind. He mixed persuasion with invective, always eloquent and moving where he defended his chosen cause and by reason of doctrines or scholarly pretexts it seemed that he came down from a Sinai, enveloped in tempests, bearing the tablets of the educational decalogue. His propaganda had the prodigious impetus of a torrent—and for identical reasons, he also descended from the mountain and owed his irresistible force to his elevation above the surrounding level." From the "Ad-

very differences were a cause of the extreme veneration which, on first meeting him, Sarmiento conceived for Mann and which he continued to entertain throughout his life.

Before he saw Mann, Sarmiento's experiences had shaped him for this reaction. Born in San Juan in extreme western Argentina in 1811, the youth was in part nurtured on a biography of Benjamin Franklin.¹⁰ When, because of lack of sympathy with the federalist regime at Buenos Aires, he was forced in 1831 to expatriate himself, he crossed to Chile. It was in the course of the following fifteen years, the greater part of that time being spent in Chile, that Sarmiento revealed himself as an educator. He first attracted attention as a journalist and was editor at various times of the periodicals, *El Mercurio*, *El Nacional*, and *El Progreso*. During this period he wrote *Vida de Aldao*, *Facundo ó civilización i barbarie*, and in 1845, *Método de Lectura Gradual*.¹¹ In 1843 he organized at Santiago the first normal school of South America and was for some time its director.¹² He was about this

vertencia," p. 6, to *Las escuelas—base de la prosperidad y de la república en los Estados Unidos*, Vol. XXX of *Obras de D. F. Sarmiento* (Buenos Aires, 1899).

¹⁰ Guerra, *op. cit.*, p. 24. This book was prize winner in a competition sponsored by the Council of Public Instruction of Chile for the best biography of Sarmiento. The prize was offered shortly after Sarmiento's death which occurred on September 11, 1888. *Ibid.*, "Prefacio," p. vii. As a youth, Mann too was influenced by Franklin, for his early education was largely garnered from the books presented by "Poor Richard" to the town of Franklin, Massachusetts, when the town authorities decided to adopt his name. These old histories and theologies, Mann said, were "suited perhaps to the taste of the 'conscript fathers' of the town, but miserably adapted to the 'postscript' children." Mann, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

¹¹ Guerra, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-101.

¹² Sarmiento, *Las escuelas . . .*, pp. 39, 40. Regarding the organization of this school Sarmiento wrote: "Normal Schools had their origin in Prussia. Mr. Cousin saw them, and advised their introduction in France. Mr. Brood [i.e., the Rev. Charles Brooks], of Medford, found himself with a Prussian envoy in his travels, and falling in love with the system, prepared the way for it in Massachusetts. The reading of the work of Mr. Cousin by the only one perhaps who for long years occupied himself in South America with *Popular Education* occasioned its creation in Chile in 1843. In this manner Brood [sic] and the latter found themselves without knowing it in the prosecution of the same work with Horace Mann, in the same paths. Thus a fundamental institution of Prussia was extended to France; and with a leap it was seen at the same time to appear in the two opposed extremes of the American continent, in Chile and in Massachusetts." The first state normal schools in North America were established in Massachusetts in 1839, through the influence of Mann, James G. Carter, Brooks, and others.

time elected to a place in the faculty of Philosophy and Humanities in the University of Chile.¹³

In 1845 Manuel Montt, who was to become an important personage in the history of Chilean education, secured for Sarmiento a commission from the national authorities to travel in foreign lands and to study public instruction. Late in the same year Sarmiento sailed for Europe on what was to be a journey of three years.¹⁴

The following year was spent in Europe in an intense study of school systems and special schools. While in London, he came across Mann's *Seventh Annual Report* as secretary of the Board of Education, the office to which Mann had been elected in 1837. Mann had preceded the South American by two years in an educational journey to Europe, and this book was the fruit of his observations. The reading of this volume was an important event in Sarmiento's life. "After this important work fell into my hands," said he, "I had a fixed point to which to direct myself in the United States."¹⁵ Eventually he embarked for that country. He was fortunate enough to encounter on the passage a senator returning from Europe who knew Mann and who gave Sarmiento a letter of introduction to him, "as if rained from heaven."¹⁶

Though Sarmiento travelled extensively in the United States, even journeying westward and descending the Mississippi to New Orleans,¹⁷ the sanctuary of his peregrination, to use his own words, was Boston, "the queen of schools of primary instruction."¹⁸ And the principal object of his visit to Boston was to talk with Horace Mann, "the great reformer of primary education."¹⁹ Writing of the hours spent with Mann, Sarmiento described him as one "who to the inexhaustable fund of goodness and philanthropy united in his acts and his writings a rare prudence and a profound knowl-

¹³ Guerra, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-101.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

¹⁵ *Educación Popular* (Buenos Aires, 1896), p. 25. This work, referred to in footnote 1, is to be distinguished from the first edition printed in Santiago in 1849 under the title *De la educación popular*. Attention is called to this difference in title of the two editions as it will be necessary to cite both of them.

¹⁶ Sarmiento, *Viajes III Estados Unidos* (Buenos Aires, 1922), p. 120. This work will be cited hereafter as *Viajes, III*.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 29 and *passim*.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

edge.”²⁰ The two men passed “long hours of conference on two successive days,”²¹ discussing matters related to the subject in which they shared so deep an interest. The second Mrs. Mann, as interpreter, had an important rôle in these historic discussions.²² The two educators possessed no common language but both Mrs. Mann and Sarmiento were masters of French. Speaking of these conferences, Sarmiento later wrote:

Shortly after my arrival I was furnished the satisfaction of conferring personally with this noble promoter of education, garnering in the intimacy which our common sympathies established a thousand useful facts which I have used to great advantage.²³

Mr. Mann, in addition to the information which he imparted orally, furnished his visitor with many letters of introduction to scholars, teachers, and notable men.²⁴ By one of the “ministers of State” he was given an order that there should be turned over to him “various collections of books and documents,” which enlightened him on the “state of education in Massachusetts.”²⁵

His talks with Mann, his visits to schools, and his study of the publications furnished him, as well as what he saw of the people and the country while travelling about, made, it is quite evident, a tremendous impression on Sarmiento. His descriptions of Mann have already been noted. Boston he called “the Puritan city, the Memphis of Yankee civilization.”²⁶ Its public schools were “converted into temples by the magnificence of their architecture”; it was the seat of the Unitarian religion which tended toward uniting in a common center all the

²⁰ *Idem*.

²¹ *Idem*.

²² Mary Tyler Peabody Mann was the daughter of Nathaniel Peabody, a dentist and physician. The family also operated a bookshop in Boston, importing foreign publications. Mrs. Mann’s oldest sister was Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, who conducted the first English-language kindergarten in the United States; another sister, Sophia, was Mrs. Nathaniel Hawthorne. The future Mrs. Mann had visited Sophia in Cuba, and presumably learned some Spanish there. G. H. Genzmer says that the Manns “were alike in their intellectual ardor and in their devotion to educational and philanthropic work. . . . Mrs. Mann was her husband’s active collaborator and influenced his life and thought profoundly.” *The Dictionary of American Biography*, XII, 245, 246.

²³ *De la educación popular*, pp. 8, 9.

²⁴ *Viajes*, III, 151.

²⁵ *Idem*.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 144, 145.

subdivisions of sect and to elevate belief to the rank of religious and moral philosophy.²⁷ "From Boston, finally, go out those swarms of colonizers that bear to the Far West the institutions, the science and the practice of government, the Yankee spirit, and the manual arts which preside at the taking possession of the land."²⁸

When Sarmiento set out on his pedagogical Anabasis he had felt that France was the head of modern civilization and culture, the model of nations.²⁹ His observations in France had somewhat weakened that conviction and his experiences in the United States completed its destruction. His Chilean biographer, writing on this point, says:

His excursion across the great North American republic in which the forces of democracy had planted the tree of liberty in the fertile soil of English colonization, changed almost completely the direction of the ideas of Sarmiento, who from that time sought his guide no longer in the tumultuous liberties of the French but in the pacific and sure progress of the United States.

From that time Sarmiento was an ardent propagandist of what we may call the North American spirit, in contradistinction to the French spirit and the Spanish spirit which disputed with one another for the dominance of the American countries, the one representing the aspirations of progress and liberty, and the other the obstinate and intransigent attachment to an obscure past.³⁰

A single quotation from Sarmiento's own pen is sufficient to justify Guerra's assertion. "I am convinced," he wrote, "that the North Americans are the sole enlightened people that exist on earth, the ultimate result obtained by modern civilization."³¹ In another connection he declared of the people of Massachusetts, "these Yankees have the right to be impertinent."³² Some of the grounds for this change of attitude are seen in this extract from his writings:

²⁷ Sarmiento was impatient with religious prejudice and bigotry, but respectful to religion. For his criticism of the church's rôle in education, which he thought obstructive, and for his championship of laic instruction he was much reviled by churchmen of Chile and Argentina. However, the more liberal churchmen admired him and one such declared that he "only lacked being a Catholic in order to be a saint." Alberto Palcos, *Sarmiento, la vida, la obra, las ideas, el genio* (Buenos Aires, 1929), p. 283.

²⁸ *Viajes*, III, 144.

²⁹ Guerra, *op. cit.*, pp. 120, 121.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

³¹ *Viajes*, III, 40.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 247.

In the United States, every man, inasmuch as he is a man, is qualified to exercise judgment and will in political matters, and, in fact, he does so. France, on the contrary, has a king, four hundred thousand soldiers, fortifications of Paris which have cost two billion francs and a people who are dying of hunger. The North Americans live without government, and their permanent army amounts to only nine thousand men. . . . As a nation the United States are the last result of human logic.³³

So great, in fact, was the attraction of the United States for Sarmiento that, according to an Argentine student of his life, he actually thought of "making himself a Yankee."³⁴

Sarmiento returned, then, to Chile to make his report, deeply impressed by the general well-being and freedom of the American people, believing that the most cultivated section was Massachusetts with its "Memphis," and convinced that the enviable condition of affairs was due to widespread literacy. He entertained, moreover, the belief that Horace Mann was largely responsible for the system of education that assured a continuance and a development of the literacy which so greatly impressed him. All of this can be demonstrated readily from the pages of his report, *De la educación popular*.³⁵

This work, consisting of 542 pages in the original edition, was delivered to the government and published at its expense. Rojas calls it "the matrix from which went out almost all the constructive ideas which he [Sarmiento] disseminated in the thirty successive years of his pedagogical apostleship," and declares that "after 1849 Sarmiento insisted constantly on the cardinal ideas of this book. . . . This was the message of the civilizer to the barbarous native."³⁶ This is said to have been that one among all the books which he wrote that Sar-

³³ *Viajes*, III, 41.

³⁴ *Palcos, Sarmiento . . .*, pp. 82, 83.

³⁵ Santiago de Chile, 1849. It should be remembered, however, that the educational conditions in Massachusetts, though relatively advanced according to the standards of South America, or even many places in the United States, were far from satisfactory. For instance, Mann said that "to make an impression in the Berkshires in regard to the schools is like attempting to batter down Gibraltar with one's fist." Mary Mann, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

³⁶ Introduction to *Educación popular*, pp. 14, 16, 17.

miento preferred.³⁷ Alberto Palcos, writing in 1929, declares that

even today we do not know in Spanish a work which offers, founded on such an accumulation of persuasive arguments, the regimen of primary instruction.³⁸

To appreciate the work at its true worth it must be borne in mind that the free and universal lay primary school conceived of as an obligation of the people was still an experiment to be made in all of the civilized world, if one except Prussia and possibly three commonwealths in the United States.³⁹ However, Sarmiento declared that "education is not a charity, but an obligation of the State, a right and at the same time a duty of the citizens."⁴⁰

The work consists of eight chapters and a conclusion. The chapter headings are "Concerning Revenue," "Inspection of Public Schools," "Concerning the Education of Women," "School Teachers," "Salas de Asilo," "Public Schools," "System of Instruction," "Spanish Orthography."

Sarmiento believed that, in order to engage the parents' interest directly in the education of their children, the school funds should come from a tax specifically imposed for school purposes and voted by the contributors. When the resources of a locality were insufficient to support education properly, then the department, the province, the state, should lend the necessary assistance to provide the state's prescribed minimum.⁴¹ Inspection should belong to the class of instructors. It should be "local, daily, multiple and sufficiently endowed with means of action that its influence may be felt at each moment."⁴²

³⁷ Palcos, *Sarmiento* . . . , p. 87.

³⁸ *Idem*.

³⁹ Though Mann could declare that a Massachusetts parent would be as much surprised at having a rate-bill presented to him as he would "if called upon to pay for enjoying the free light of the sun, or common air of heaven" and that "the subject of free schools, and of the right of a state to maintain them, is never agitated in Massachusetts," still in 1837 more money was spent for tuition in private schools in Boston than was paid by the city for public schools. A. E. Winship, *Horace Mann, America's Greatest Educator* (New York, 1937), p. 25. See also an address by Mann at Utica, N. Y., reported in *District School Journal* (Albany), July, 1846. New York did not have a state-wide system of free elementary schools until 1867.

⁴⁰ *De la educación popular*, p. 56.

⁴¹ *Educación popular*, p. 87.

⁴² *De la educación popular*, pp. 87, 88.

"The grade of civilization of a people," declared Sarmiento, "may be judged by the social position of women."⁴³ He believed women to be the natural teachers of children.⁴⁴ Discussing the point, the author used many illustrations from Massachusetts, giving an extended account of a visit at West Newton, Massachusetts (Mann's home), to a normal school for women on which occasion Mrs. Mann had been his guide.⁴⁵ He declared that in Chile two thousand women were needed as teachers in *Salas de Asilo* and primary schools.⁴⁶

The chapter dedicated to "School Teachers" commences with the assertion that "The profession of teaching requires as much, or greater, preparation as any other."⁴⁷ There follows a lengthy discussion of program and procedure of the Normal School of Versailles and of a similar school in Prussia which he had observed. The emphasis is on thorough and broad preparation. In describing classes in the foreign languages he italicized the statement that during the exercise in French "*teachers and students spoke French, and during the exercise in English, teachers and students spoke English.*"⁴⁸

The *Sala de Asilo*, a term somewhat equivalent to kindergarten, he called the most recent improvement in popular instruction. It was designed for children between the ages of two and seven years. So many parents, Sarmiento believed, spoiled the child, permitting him to be the master in the home, that this type of school was greatly needed. Its function was the moral education of the child—the teaching of obedience, habits of work, and attention.⁴⁹

In the chapter on "Public Schools" the author was concerned chiefly with building, equipment, and methods. He listed the conditions of good teaching as being adequate locale, complete material, competent teachers, a general system of instruction, and special methods for each branch of instruction. In discussing locale Sarmiento described four possible school buildings, one for fifty pupils, one for 120, one for 200, and a fourth for a larger group. The last he called the most

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁴⁷ *Educación popular*, p. 176.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

complete and for it he used as a model the school building at Salem, Massachusetts, describing it in detail with illustrations. Credit for these models he gave to Mr. Mann and to the Massachusetts *Common School Journal* of 1842 and the *School Manual of New York* of 1843.⁵⁰ Of the Salem school he stated that he proposed to make it known in all its details to the end that he might give "an idea of the maximum of perfection to which schools may attain."⁵¹ He devoted some twelve pages of the original edition to this school which he declared was known as the best public school in the United States and was believed to be the best in the world.⁵² Artificial ventilation, blackboards, seats—all of these and many other features excited the writer's lively admiration.

In treating the subject of system of instruction, the Salem school was again used as a model. Here he devoted several pages to transcribing Mann's observations on Scotch schools which he visited.⁵³ He recommended the American style of letter in writing.⁵⁴ In respect to reading he declared that the most efficacious innovations had been made in America.⁵⁵ He asserted that the study of how to teach a child to read ought not be regarded indifferently and used Mann, "the model of good citizens," as an example of one who, though burdened with many other duties, gave time to study of that subject.⁵⁶

In his discussion of Castilian orthography he advanced various arguments for simplifying words, his object being to facilitate and organize popular instruction in reading and writing in the primary grades.⁵⁷

The author gave some attention to gymnastics, which he considered indispensable,⁵⁸ to the decimal system, the adoption of which he thought would lighten by half the task of public education,⁵⁹ and to public lectures which he regarded as an important agency for public education and general enlightenment. He elaborated on their use in England and in the United States.⁶⁰

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

⁵² *De la educación popular*, pp. 424-430.

⁵³ *Idem.*

⁵⁴ *Educación popular*, p. 424.

⁵⁵ *Idem.*

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 320.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 436.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 445.

⁵⁶ *De la educación popular*, p. 512.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 513.

In the last paragraph but one, Sarmiento made this general summation of the work:

Thus would be easy and practicable the *public cradles* which receive the man on the threshold of life; the *Salas de Asilo* which tame his disposition, discipline his habits, and prepare his spirit for passing to the primary School which places at his disposition the instruments of learning, in order to turn him over to the *High School* which initiates him into the knowledge indispensable to civilized life. *The School of Arts and Crafts*, when the Normal of this name shall have scattered to all parts its teachers, can later receive into its bosom this pilgrim, passing through diverse preparations to enter life, until, his intelligence endowed with the capacity to reason with skill, and his hands given an art in order to produce wealth, he shall arrive at the adult age, to the discharge of the duties which society imposes on him, and through *public lectures*, dailies, public life, pageants, and contact with other men, he shall end only with life this continuous apprenticeship, which constitutes the essence of the civilized man; for only barbarous people remain, when they go out from the domestic hearth, irrevocably educated in customs, ideas, morals, and aspirations.⁶¹

So many of the topics and statements in *De la educación popular* are very similar to the themes of Mann's addresses and annual reports that one may safely conclude that Sarmiento drank long and deep of the spring at West Newton. While it may be said that any sensitive individual, surveying educational conditions in the 1840's, would have seen fit to treat of these topics, we may conclude that Sarmiento's viewpoints were deeply conditioned by Mann, especially in view of the former's specific acknowledgment of Mann's influence. Some passages of one of Sarmiento's letters to Mrs. Mann wellnigh clinch the point. Being in a reminiscent mood, he wrote:

. . . at the age of thirty I undertook from Chile *the great crusade* which you see me continuing up to this time, and which after I had made use of my own lights and those I acquired in French books, *was converted after 1847, into a prolongation to South America of the campaign so notably terminated at the North by your worthy husband Mr. Mann, whose footprints I have followed since then.*⁶²

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 515, 516.

⁶² Oscawana, N. Y., June 15, 1866. "Cartas," *Boletín*, IV, 313. Italics inserted by the authors.

As Mann's contributions to educational theory and practice are so readily available, both in his collected works⁶³ and in the numerous articles appearing in educational publications during the recent Mann centennial, no attempt will be made here to show the parallel between Mann's and Sarmiento's pronouncements in the detail that otherwise might be warranted. Suffice it to say that Mann had proclaimed education as a duty of the state; had declared that all the property within a state might justly be taxed to educate all the children of the commonwealth; had brought about the beginnings of superintendence of schools, in the modern sense of the word; had advocated a wider use of women as teachers; had devoted the major portion of his *Second Report* to methodology; had paid particular attention to school equipment, and had himself engaged in numerous public lectures in Massachusetts and neighboring states.

Although *De la educación popular* was the most important of Sarmiento's publications on education and expressed the basic ideas for which he continued to fight throughout his life, he has two other major works in this field, *Memoria sobre educación común presentado al consejo universitario de Chile*, and *Las escuelas—base de la prosperidad i de la república en los Estados Unidos*.

The *Memoria sobre educación común* was written in 1855 in a competition proposed by the Chilean government.⁶⁴ It is an examination of the influence of primary instruction on customs, public morals, industry, and general development of natural prosperity, with suggestions for the best organization of such education, and the most convenient system to adopt for supporting it. On the first point, Sarmiento argued that primary instruction is the basis of religion, of liberty, and of national prosperity, declaring that on its diffusion depended the fate of the country.⁶⁵ This assertion was bolstered by a

⁶³ *Life and Works of Horace Mann*, edited by Mary Tyler Peabody Mann (3 vols., 1865-1868); enlarged and edited by George Combe Mann (5 vols., 1891).

⁶⁴ The prize was 1,000 pesos. Seven entrants competed. Sarmiento was awarded second place, but it was decided that his work should be published at the government's expense. Palcos declares that it was composed in little more than twelve days, despite the writer's other multiple occupations. *Sarmiento* . . . , pp. 152, 153.

⁶⁵ *Memoria sobre educación común* (Santiago, 1856), p. 193. Cf. Mann's

formidable marshalling of statistics from the United States and Chile. Frequent reference was made to the United States,⁶⁶ the schools of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia being most used as models. These were precisely those places where Mann's influence had been most felt. On the point of organization he advised abolition of the classification, "primary instruction," and the "making of all the instruction given in Chile a single system, linking it in such manner that whoever shall receive superior or professional education must pass through the primary schools, from those to the secondary and from those to the *liceos*, leaving only the scientific professions of doctor, priest, lawyer, and engineer in a separate line." Only thus did he believe that harmony and unity could be achieved with the existing dispersed fragments.⁶⁷ On the manner of supporting the school system, after declaring that "education must be cheap for all and absolutely gratuitous for those who are not able to procure it for themselves,"⁶⁸ he recommended the reestablishment of the public lottery, the proceeds to be devoted to the support of primary instruction.⁶⁹ He also advised direct taxation.⁷⁰

The author emphasized the value of libraries, citing the case of Massachusetts, quoting Mann on the "exceedingly sad state" of that center of enlightenment which was, however, so tremendously better off than Chile. "There is no country in the world," he declared, "in which there is more reading or where books are more abundant."⁷¹ Mann, whose early edu-

strong statement in this regard: "Now what is the fundamental, the paramount, indispensable need and necessity of a people? I say it is education. . . . Take away education and all things will rush to ruin as quickly as the solar system would return to chaos if gravitation and cohesion were destroyed. . . . We must have wise legislators; but we never shall have wise legislators with a foolish constituency." Address at Utica, N. Y., quoted in *District School Journal* (Albany), July, 1846.

⁶⁶ *Memoria sobre educación común*, pp. 96, 99, 107-110.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 133, 134.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 38. See *ante* note 41.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 180-182. A few pages farther on, in an attempt to animate the Chileans to emulation, he asked: "Que va a ser, Dios nuestro! del mundo, con una nación que puede contar en época que los jóvenes de hoy alcanzarán, con cien millones de habitantes, todos, mujeres i hombres, con educación científica superior (pues a eso van encaminando las instituciones públicas i la opinión), si

cation had been so dependent upon a public library, was equally enthusiastic about such an agency in promoting education. He highly esteemed the school libraries established in New York in 1838, out of that state's proceeds from the United States Deposit Fund. This act, which supplied 1,600,000 books within fifteen years, Mann held to be "one of the grandest moral enterprises of the age," and he persuaded Massachusetts to enact a similar law in 1842. It was apparently the early results of this 1842 law that Sarmiento observed.

Sarmiento also elaborated on the necessity of teaching the public to read, citing illiterate signboards which ought to be in correct Spanish and attractively made,⁷² recommending reform schools to teach delinquents,⁷³ insisting that the army, the national guard, every meeting of men, should be made an occasion for instruction. He declared that in case the state should employ an illiterate peon, arrangement should be made to give him two hours a day for instruction in reading. "The jails, the penitentiary ought to be schools."⁷⁴ Intemperance could best be fought by elevating the spirit and ennobling the man.⁷⁵ The "system of *universal common education*" in vogue in the United States, he declared, made of each man "a focus of production, a workshop for elaborating means of prosperity" as opposed to the South American system of "universal ignorance" which made of the great majority of South American nations "neutral ciphers for wealth, *zeros* and *zeros* and *zeros*."⁷⁶ Sarmiento asserted that under a good system of popular education only ten years were needed to change completely the physiognomy of a country.⁷⁷ The church came in for some severe criticisms. "One of the great obstacles," he declared, "which opposes itself to the culture of purely Catholic countries is the absolute abstention of the ministry from matters of primary instruction."⁷⁸ Through-

los otros pueblos no se apresuran a hacer lo mismo i dar aptitudes de trabajo inteligente a sus masas!" *Ibid.*, pp. 200, 201.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 157, 158.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

out the work the author laid on with a will—which was both his and Mann's characteristic style—and spared no one.

The book *Las escuelas—base de la prosperidad i de la república en los Estados Unidos* followed *Memoria sobre educación común* by ten years. In the meantime Sarmiento had returned to Argentina where he discharged during the remainder of his life the duties of various public offices, only a few of which need be noted here. In 1856 he was appointed chief of the Department of Schools, an office created expressly for him.⁷⁹ He held this post six years, fighting continually for his ideas on education. To aid in disseminating them, he founded a monthly, *Anales de la Educación Común*,⁸⁰ after the model of Mann's periodical, the *Common School Journal*, which had exerted so much influence and added notably to its editor's reputation.

Then, in 1862 he was elected governor of his beloved San Juan. Again his educational works were notable. He founded an agricultural school, a preparatory school, and a national college. He began the work of creating a model school, using for its purposes the abandoned church of San Clemente. Though he did not remain in San Juan to see its completion and inauguration, it was opened in 1865 and bore his name—*La Escuela Sarmiento*.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Palcos, *Sarmiento* . . . , pp. 160, 161.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 161. It is worth noting that while in this post Sarmiento was discharging simultaneously the duties of three others—editor of the daily *El Nacional*, member of the city council of Buenos Aires, and provincial senator. *Idem*.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 185. In *Las Escuelas* . . . , pp. 259-288, is a chapter devoted to the opening of this school, preceded by a picture of the building. In a letter which on April 5, 1865, Sarmiento wrote from Lima—he being then on his way to the United States—to Camilo Rojo, governor of San Juan, occurs this passage: "Let us direct [our gaze] still to that incandescent focus of light [North America], and let us always invoke that spirit of illustrious liberty; and the day on which in each group of fifty Argentine families, in each ward of the great cities, the monumental school shall be erected which will transmit to each child the power to govern himself, to acquire, to dominate nature which today the students of the hundred thousand schools of the United States show on such an astonishing scale, that day the United States, with all its liberty, its prodigies of industry, its aggrandizement and its power, shall have been extended to South America, concentrated in the Argentine Republic, as there in New England, and borne as far as San Juan at the foot of the Andes, as to St. Louis, Missouri, in the extreme Far West." *Ibid.*, p. 278.

The circumstance which removed Sarmiento from the governorship of San Juan was his appointment as minister of the Argentine Republic to the United States. Sarmiento believed, and probably correctly, that the motive for the appointment was the wish to remove him from the Argentine scene until after the presidential election of 1868.⁸²

Sarmiento arrived at New York in mid-year of 1865. He found, despite the recently concluded war, so many improvements in the country that they shone in the eyes of everyone "to the point of obscuring the vision."⁸³ One of the first articles which he read in a newspaper was an account of the unveiling in Boston of a statue of Horace Mann, who had died in 1859 while president of Antioch College. At once Sarmiento wrote a long letter to Mrs. Mann,⁸⁴ and thus initiated the second phase of his association with that estimable lady.

One of the clauses of his instructions directed the new minister to make a report on education in the United States. With his accustomed energy he attacked the project at once and the result was the book previously referred to, *Las escuelas—base de la prosperidad i de la república en los Estados Unidos*. It was published at New York in 1866.⁸⁵ Though Sarmiento was very proud of the work,⁸⁶ it was not a particularly praiseworthy production, being a compilation without organization of various matters relating to education—an introduction

⁸² Sarmiento to Mrs. Mann, New York, May 12, 1866. "Cartas," *Boletín*, III, 80. "My friends of the federal government selected me for a diplomatic mission which united the advantage of making use of my habits of study and my predilection for the United States—to give me an honorable situation, and without malicious intent to ——— [sic] remove me to a distance until after the presidential election." He added, "Hoi todo el mundo se apercibe del *trick*." Guerra remarks that he was offered "a golden bridge" on which to leave the country. *Op. cit.*, pp. 229, 230.

⁸³ Sarmiento, *Las escuelas* . . . , p. 25.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-53.

⁸⁵ Without specific authorization, Sarmiento ordered the printing of an edition of the work and sent the books as his report to the Argentine minister of public instruction, D. Eduardo Costa. Arrived at Buenos Aires, the entire edition remained boxed in that functionary's office for several months. Unfortunately, a fire destroyed the building and with it the books, the only copies of the first edition that were saved being a number that the author had given to his friends. "Advertencia," *Las escuelas* . . . (ed. 1899), p. 5.

⁸⁶ Sarmiento to Mrs. Mann, New York, May 26, 1867. "Cartas," *Boletín*, III, 216, 217.

composed of general reflections of his own, a short life of Horace Mann based on the *Life* by Mrs. Mann, addresses delivered at meetings of education associations, a chapter on the opening of the Sarmiento School at San Juan, an address delivered by him to the Historical Society of Rhode Island. A section of the original edition which was probably of considerable value to its intended readers contains a descriptive catalog of text books published by D. Appleton and Company, and a catalog of school furniture manufactured by Robert Patton, both illustrated. It added nothing to what he had previously said on education, but is valuable as an illustration of his great admiration for the United States and its educational system.

In order to disseminate in Hispanic America "practical knowledge of all kinds, principally of agriculture, industry, and education, and to diffuse the discoveries of the portentous inventiveness of the United States,"⁸⁷ he founded in 1867 a quarterly which he called *Ambas Américas*. Writing of it to Mrs. Mann, he said:

It will be no business; but I will force the public attention to hear about schools and education. My endeavours only will be a full invitation for many states that never had heard a word on schools, as a matter of social interest.⁸⁸

For lack of financial support the journal died after the fourth issue,⁸⁹ a pity since there was a real need for it.

Sarmiento travelled extensively in the United States. He went to Massachusetts and visited Mrs. Mann and spent a few minutes of exaltation at the foot of Mann's statue in front of the State House in Boston.⁹⁰ While in Boston he spent sev-

⁸⁷ Guerra, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

⁸⁸ New York, October 2, 1867. "Cartas," *Boletín*, IV, 612. The original is in English.

⁸⁹ Guerra, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

⁹⁰ Sarmiento, *Las escuelas* . . . , pp. 177, 178. Describing his visit to Mann's statue, he wrote: "Temptations came to me to speak to him, to applaud him, to smile at him, to ask him if he remembered the traveler whom he entertained in West Newton in 1848 and to whom he wrote later to Chile on matters of education." *Ibid.*, p. 178. In one of his letters to Mrs. Mann, Sarmiento spoke of Lincoln and Mann as "the two men I love the most." New York, May 12, 1866. "Cartas," *Boletín*, III, 79. In November, 1865, he wrote Mrs. Mann from Providence saying he had visited the grave of "our venerated friend," and

eral hours in the company of the educator, Dr. George B. Emerson, who, he said, confirmed him "in the idea of the supreme influence exercised by Mr. Mann in the development of the system of Common Schools."⁹¹ His previous conception of the high place of Massachusetts in education was not lowered by these later observations, as this passage in *Las escuelas* proves:

The State of Massachusetts tends, small though it is relatively, to place itself at the head of humanity in the new destinies which universal education is preparing for it.⁹²

Elected president of Argentina despite his having made three years earlier his exit by "the golden bridge," Sarmiento returned to his country in 1868.

It is unnecessary to follow in detail the story of his later educational activities—as president for six years,⁹³ as a national senator, and national superintendent of schools. Until his death in 1888, he exerted the full extent of his powers in supporting measures for social and political improvement, education always having a prominent place. The correspondence with Mrs. Mann continued throughout his presidency and in fact until 1884, though letters were fewer after his years in the presidency. He consulted her on many points concerning schools, made use of her assistance in securing school mistresses and in employing the American astronomer Gould

telling her that he had gathered from the vicinity a quantity of small colored seeds which it was his intention to send to Argentina where it should grow as an eternal reminder of the day when he visited "al Apostol Horacio." *Ibid.*, IV, 350, 351.

⁹¹ Sarmiento, *Las escuelas* . . . , p. 182.

⁹² *Las escuelas* . . . , p. 138. On Sarmiento's notion of Massachusetts' place, Mrs. Mann had this to say: "Indeed I doubt if many Massachusetts men look at the influence of their own State in civilizing the rest of the country with the insight that he does. He looks upon us in our ideal rather than in what we have actually attained—he sees what will be the result when the best purposes of our best men shall have been realized, for his enthusiasm for the United States has been stimulated to a poetical appreciation, if I may so speak, by all that he has suffered in seeing the disadvantages which his own beautiful country has encountered in their efforts after independence." To Governor Andrews, Concord, December 26, (1). "Cartas," *Boletín*, IV, 650.

⁹³ A law of 1869 authorized the foundation of two normal schools and the contracting abroad of twenty professors for the University of Córdoba and the national high schools. Guerra, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

to head the Observatory which he founded.⁹⁴ Of Mrs. Mann's assistance he wrote to her:

It will be an "historical" fact of great influence in South America that the woman who assisted Horace Mann in his great work in the North, lent her sympathetic coöperation to his continuers in the south of America.⁹⁵

In his later years, as previously, Sarmiento gave much time to an effort to popularize libraries, though in this as in all other educational objectives, his achievement fell far short of his desires. It is not within the province of this study to assess his accomplishments, but it may be noted that in his last years he was exceedingly disappointed and pessimistic regarding Argentina's educational progress. His last known letter to Mrs. Mann contains this sentence:

The negro race of the United States is more advanced in this respect [primary education] in fifteen years of emancipation than our people in four centuries of existence.⁹⁶

One reason for this failure is suggested by a passage in an earlier letter to the same correspondent:

Behind me comes the Spanish colony, closing *colegios* and schools, suspending educational periodicals and erasing my footprints in Chile, Buenos Aires and San Juan!⁹⁷

Through a long career Sarmiento moved—a sort of tempest, thundering against the ignorance of his compatriots and the inanition of governmental agencies, occasionally hurling a thunderbolt with telling effect. Though in a sense his late pessimism was justified, there can be no doubt that the seed he planted, though slow in germinating, eventually produced a harvest, the present relatively advanced state of education in Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay being proof. It should, indeed, be borne in mind that education in the United States still is short of the ideal goal that Mann envisaged one hundred years ago.

⁹⁴ Sarmiento to Mrs. Mann, Buenos Aires, October 12, 1869. "Cartas," *Boletín*, III, 400-403. See also Palcos, "El Epistolario inédito de Sarmiento . . .," *La Prensa* (Buenos Aires), March 10, 1935.

⁹⁵ New York, May 31, 1866. "Cartas," *Boletín*, IV, 301.

⁹⁶ October 2, 1884. *Ibid.*, IV, 129.

⁹⁷ New York, June 8, 1866. *Ibid.*, IV, 308.

The old in South America needed to be shaken up, perhaps torn down, before the new and better structures could be solidly erected. Sarmiento's work was too advanced for his time, even as was much of Mann's, but it was sound. An important rôle in the forming of his educational ideas must be allotted to influences emanating from the United States—particularly to the influence of Horace Mann.

WATT STEWART.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Medical College,
Stillwater.

WILLIAM MASHALL FRENCH.

Muskingum College,
New Concord, Ohio.

to head the Observatory which he founded.⁹⁴ Of Mrs. Mann's assistance he wrote to her:

It will be an "historical" fact of great influence in South America that the woman who assisted Horace Mann in his great work in the North, lent her sympathetic coöperation to his continuers in the south of America.⁹⁵

In his later years, as previously, Sarmiento gave much time to an effort to popularize libraries, though in this as in all other educational objectives, his achievement fell far short of his desires. It is not within the province of this study to assess his accomplishments, but it may be noted that in his last years he was exceedingly disappointed and pessimistic regarding Argentina's educational progress. His last known letter to Mrs. Mann contains this sentence:

The negro race of the United States is more advanced in this respect [primary education] in fifteen years of emancipation than our people in four centuries of existence.⁹⁶

One reason for this failure is suggested by a passage in an earlier letter to the same correspondent:

Behind me comes the Spanish colony, closing *colegios* and schools, suspending educational periodicals and erasing my footprints in Chile, Buenos Aires and San Juan!⁹⁷

Through a long career Sarmiento moved—a sort of tempest, thundering against the ignorance of his compatriots and the inanition of governmental agencies, occasionally hurling a thunderbolt with telling effect. Though in a sense his late pessimism was justified, there can be no doubt that the seed he planted, though slow in germinating, eventually produced a harvest, the present relatively advanced state of education in Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay being proof. It should, indeed, be borne in mind that education in the United States still is short of the ideal goal that Mann envisaged one hundred years ago.

⁹⁴ Sarmiento to Mrs. Mann, Buenos Aires, October 12, 1869. "Cartas," *Boletín*, III, 400-403. See also Palcos, "El Epistolario inédito de Sarmiento . . .," *La Prensa* (Buenos Aires), March 10, 1935.

⁹⁵ New York, May 31, 1866. "Cartas," *Boletín*, IV, 301.

⁹⁶ October 2, 1884. *Ibid.*, IV, 129.

⁹⁷ New York, June 8, 1866. *Ibid.*, IV, 308.

The old in South America needed to be shaken up, perhaps torn down, before the new and better structures could be solidly erected. Sarmiento's work was too advanced for his time, even as was much of Mann's, but it was sound. An important rôle in the forming of his educational ideas must be allotted to influences emanating from the United States—particularly to the influence of Horace Mann.

WATT STEWART.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Medical College,
Stillwater.

WILLIAM MASHALL FRENCH.

Muskingum College,
New Concord, Ohio.

THE CONTINENTAL TREATIES OF 1856:

AN AMERICAN UNION "EXCLUSIVE OF THE UNITED STATES"

Upon invitation of Simón Bolívar, five "free nations of America" sent envoys to a General Assembly at Panama in 1826.¹ Eventually, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and the United States were represented by wary observers. The spirit of internationalism which had abetted the Hispanic-American states in their wars of independence was already being dissipated by nationalistic jealousies. Consequently, the frail instruments forged at Panama to perpetuate peace and to stimulate economic affluence were not approved. During the next decade and a half, Juan de Dios Cañedo, as Mexican envoy-at-large and as foreign minister, labored to arouse sentiment for an *Asamblea Americana*. Seven circular invitations (1831, 1834, 1836, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1842) were ignored or evaded by all Hispanic-American governments save that of Colombia. When Juan José Flores, an exiled Ecuadorean *caudillo* with some fantastic ideas, emerged from retirement in an attempt to regain erstwhile power by enlisting European aid, he set the stage for *el congreso Americano* in 1847. By frustrating the designs of Flores, Great Britain and Spain eliminated the *raison d'être* of a united Hispanic-American front.² In the United States, Secretary of State James Buchanan wrote of employing "all the moral means, at least . . . to arrest such interference" in the affairs of the western hemisphere.³

¹ The diplomatic representatives of Central America, Colombia, and Mexico had solicited attendance of the United States; and Great Britain was approached by the Colombian minister. A fortnight after the Panama congress had convened, an uninvited personage, one Colonel Vanveer, presented the respects and good wishes of his sovereign, William Frederick of Holland.

² Ministers plenipotentiary from Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, New Granada, and Peru participated in the sessions extending from December 11, 1847, to adjournment on March 1, 1848. Of the several conventions and treaties adopted, a consular convention ratified by the New Granadine senate was a singular consideration by any of the signatory governments. (Antonio José Uribe, ed., *Anales diplomáticos y consulares*, III, Bogotá, 1902, 223-225).

³ U. S. Department of State. Manuscripts. Buchanan to Vanbrugh Livingston,

On November 20, 1854, the United States minister resident in Ecuador signed a commercial agreement whereby his government received liberal concessions in the guano trade of the Galapagos islands. The chagrined agents of England, France, Spain, and Peru exercised immediately "the right to protest" against that award of privileges and alleged establishment of a protectorate.⁴ They were promptly reminded by the Ecuadorean authorities that the latter, too, had a right to bargain "with all the nations of the earth"; subsequently, the convention was ratified.

"If the opportunity presents itself, ascertain the disposition of the foreign minister upon this affair, and learn what kind of aid we can expect from that government in order to unbolt this protectorate," the Chilean foreign minister importuned Manuel Blanco of Buenos Aires, his close friend and Chilean minister to France.⁵ Coincidentally, Varas had circularized among "all the South American States" a note upon the treaty between Ecuador and the United States.⁶ To counteract what he termed the pernicious consequences of the latter document, the Chilean advocated the despatch of special

United States chargé d'affaires to Ecuador, Washington, May 13, 1848, Instructions, Ecuador, I.

⁴ Philo White to William L. Marey, Quito, November 24, 1854, William R. Manning, ed., *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States concerning Inter-American Affairs, 1831-1860*, VI, 339 f. (Hereafter cited as Manning, *Inter-American Affairs*.) English and Spanish texts of the protests made by White's aroused colleagues were forwarded by the Spanish minister in Washington to John L. Crampton, the English representative. (Crampton to Earl of Clarendon, Washington, [January 29], 1855, No. 28, F. O. 5, 619. Copy. Transcript. Library of Congress).

⁵ Antonio Varas to Blanco Encalada, Santiago, January 30, 1855, Miguel Varas Velásquez, ed., *Correspondencia de don Antonio Varas con el almirante don Manuel Blanco Encalada sobre su misión en Europa, 1853-1857* (Santiago, 1919), p. 82. (Hereafter cited as Varas Velásquez, *Correspondencia de Varas con Blanco Encalada*.) Two weeks later, Blanco Encalada was instructed to solicit from France a declaration regarding the "degree of coöperation" with which the French government would abet the "efforts of the American States." (*Ibid.*, p. 83.) According to White, the French chargé d'affaires in Quito was "extraordinarily active in communicating everything" to the Chilean authorities. (White to Marey, Quito, April 18, 1856, No. 51. Manning, *Inter-American Affairs*, VI, 354).

⁶ Antonio Varas, Santiago, January 30, 1855, Antonio Varas, *Correspondencia de don Antonio Varas; cuestiones americanas* (Santiago, 1929), pp. 131-135. (Hereafter cited as Varas, *Cuestiones americanas*).

envoys to Quito where "conferences" would be more apt than "written communications" to compel a satisfactory readjustment. This remedy contained an implicit sentiment of *unión sud-americana*. Such antagonism against the United States had been fired by a series of unrelated incidents: the harsh treatment invoked upon Chilean drifters by Californian vigilance committees; the devastation of a lucrative trade between California and Chile by ingenious Yankee millers and clipper ships; and the apprehensions of "imminent annexation" engendered by the wild-fire of an expansionist spirit spreading throughout the North American nation.⁷

As for Chilean statesmen's casting their country in the rôle of challenger, they took this cue from the respect accorded Chile as the most progressive among the Hispanic-American nations. Internal tranquility attended by an expansion of agricultural productivity and commercial intercourse, and by exploitation of mineral resources had had its compensatory features.⁸ The intellectuals, some of whom associated with the "Ins" and others with the opposition, together with a brilliant minority of exiled scholars from neighboring nations, were the driving force behind a robust cultural renaissance. Furthermore, Chile's young men were formulating and executing national policies. In foreign relations, however, they respected the advice of Andrés Bello, sexagenarian, permanent under-secretary of state, and former Venezuelan. The experienced Bello had consistently ruled that bilateral agreements, and participation in emergency regional conferences, were preferred over multilateral negotiation in the furtherance of Chile's diplomatic prestige.⁹ In 1844, however,

⁷ David A. Starkweather to Marcy, Santiago, March 29, 1855, No. 6, Despatches, Chile, XI; Manning, *Inter-American Affairs*, V, 211.

⁸ Isaac Joslin Cox, "Chile," in A. Curtis Wilgus, ed., *Argentina, Brazil and Chile since Independence* (Vol. III of *Studies in Hispanic-American Affairs*, Washington, 1935), pp. 314-316. For the politico-intellectual aspects of the Montt regime, the writer has relied chiefly upon the more comprehensive treatment by Alberto Edwards, *El gobierno de don Manuel Montt, 1851-1861* (Santiago, 1932).

⁹ Miguel Luis Amunátegui, *Vida de don Andrés Bello* (Santiago, 1882), p. 371; Diego Barros Arana, *Historia jeneral de Chile*, XVI, (Santiago, 1902), 188-191. In 1831 and again in 1834, Bello was responsible for the Chilean attack upon a proposed general "American Assembly." Upon the second occasion, the critique bore the signature of Joaquín Tocornal, the foreign minister, but the elder-

he endorsed the general conference method as a most convenient means for the airing of divergent points of view, and for discussion of common problems.¹⁰ Such was the diplomatic background for the Varas circular of 1855; and the appointment of General José Francisco Gana as Chilean agent to Ecuador.

During the second quarter of 1855, General Gana witnessed the compromising effect of an international episode in Peru, and of domestic politics in Ecuador upon his mission. The arrival of Juan José Flores, exiled Ecuadorean and one time filibuster, on Peruvian soil precipitated a case of jitters in Ecuador.¹¹

President José María Urbina of the latter country utilized

statesman's policies were expressed therein. Drafted as a reply to the invitation extended by Juan de Dios Cañedo, the document admitted the feasibility of a sectional organization consisting of Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Peru. Tocornal dogmatized that, in a more extensive alignment, the majority of members "could never appreciate the gravity of a localized situation." (Tocornal to Dios Cañedo, Santiago, July 17, 1834. Chile. Ministerio de relaciones exteriores. *Memoria que el ministro presenta al congreso nacional año de 1834*, [pp. 18-21]).

¹⁰ Amunategui, *op. cit.*, p. 373. *El Araucano* edited by Bello himself introduced the latter's most recent opinion; subsequently, *El Siglo*, the official government organ proclaimed its approval. Publication of this statement occurred after the presentation of Juan Bautista Alberdi's *Memoria sobre la conveniencia i el objeto de un congreso jeneral americano* to the law faculty of the University of Chile. Bello was rector of this institution; furthermore, both men were also affiliated with the "conservative" party then in power. Viewing the proposition as an abstract entity, Alberdi contended that it merited a trial. Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, a rival Argentinian, disputed the efficacy of the thesis in *El Progreso* of which he was the editor. Juan Bautista Alberdi, *Obras completas*, II (Buenos Aires, 1886), 389-412; A. Belin Sarmiento, ed., *Obras de D. F. Sarmiento*, XXXIV (Buenos Aires, 1900), 9-56 *passim*.

¹¹ Gana to Varas, Lima, March 24, 1855, Varas, *Cuestiones americanas*, p. 143. In the fall of 1846, Flores had conspired to sail from England with two thousand men recruited in Spain and the British Isles, proceed to Jamaica, and from there to launch a campaign of conquest against Ecuador. (Flores to Fermin Toro, Venezuelan minister to Spain, Madrid, August 13, 1846, *Boletín de historia y antigüedades; órgano de la academia de historia nacional*, IX, (Bogotá, 1915), 740-742). Before the break-up of this expedition by the English port authorities, Peru had invited all the American governments, including that of the United States, to participate in a conference "for the common welfare of the Hispanic-American States." (November 9, 1846. Ricardo Aranda, ed., *Congresos y conferencias internacionales en que ha tomado parte el Perú*, I (Lima, 1909), 83 f. Hereafter cited as Aranda, *Congresos y conferencias internacionales*). And five South American governments were represented at the inaugural session of the "American Congress" in Lima on December 11, 1847.

this situation to further his political fortune and that of the "liberal" party.¹² In these circumstances, Urbina demanded, as a *sine qua non* to a commercial treaty, Chile's acceptance of a mutual assistance pact against "all piratical and filibustering expeditions." Gana's report upon the finality of such terms and upon the emergence of a federationist sentiment in New Granada and Venezuela contained also an appeal for explicit instructions.¹³

The punctual answer to that illuminating note urged the envoy to admit Chile's paramount interest in a special defensive arrangement. "We must have time, however, to formulate bases," cautioned Varas. "Furthermore, you might add that in an agreement of this character, we believe that its effectiveness would be increased if the other Continental States should participate. Considering it from that point of view, it has grown in importance to us."¹⁴ The decision of the Ecuadorean authorities to declare the guano convention with the United States null and void was probably hastened by Chile's inclination to negotiate. More positively, the Varas instruction demonstrated how amenable Chilean statesmen could be toward an Hispanic-American pact.

Challenging circumstances had most likely prompted the directors of Chile's foreign relations to assert their continentalism. While Juan José Flores was enjoying Peruvian hospitality, diplomatic representatives of New Granada and Venezuela were in Lima conferring among themselves upon a "feasible plan" designed to "insure peace and union among the South American States."¹⁵ They predicated the success of

¹² Domingo Elias of Peru, General Andrés Santa Cruz, former president of Bolivia and the Peru-Bolivian confederation, and Juan José Flores were labelled co-conspirators in a plot "to take possession of Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia with the objective of transforming those republics into a single monarchy." And the government-controlled press devoted extra space to the rumor of another filibustering expedition under the joint command of Flores and Jeremiah Clemens, former United States senator. (Gana to Varas, Quito, May 12, 1855; *idem* to *idem*, Quito, June 11, 1855, Varas, *op. cit.*, p. 160; White to Marcy, Quito, May 16, 1855, No. 54, confidential, Manning, *Inter-American Affairs*, VI, 356).

¹³ Gana to Varas, Quito, June 11, 1855, Varas, *Cuestiones americanas*, p. 161.

¹⁴ Varas to Gana, Santiago, June 29, 1855, Varas, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

¹⁵ M[anuel] Ancizar to Francisco de P[aula González] Vigil, Lima, June 1, 1855, Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna, ed., *Colección de ensayos i documentos relativos*

their project upon the consent of Hispanic-American governments to arbitrate boundary disputes.

These advocates of continental solidarity averred that the topography of South America would dictate its political division into "the Colombian Federation of the North; the Confederation of the South Pacific Republics; and the Confederation of the South Atlantic Republics with the present Empire of Brazil."¹⁶ As a common denominator they recommended the creation of a system of South American public law by an assembly of plenipotentiaries. Contrary to the English principle, and in deference to that upheld by the United States, it was expected that the future lawmakers would prescribe maritime regulations affirming the legitimacy of privateering, and ruling that "the flag covered property, that neutral property under an enemy flag was free."¹⁷ In order to curb the seemingly outrageous abuse of their duties, privileges, and immunities by "European" diplomatic and consular agents, a sharp definition of such characteristics was desired. This pronouncement upon international law was to assert, moreover, that "the South American States declare inviolable and guarantee among themselves the integrity of their respective territories."

When Varas notified General Gana of the government's readiness to participate in a multilateral arrangement, he knew presumably the import of those private conferences in Lima. Early in June, 1855, Félix Cipriano Coronel Cegarra,

a la unión i confederación de los pueblos hispano-americanos (Santiago, 1862), pp. 331f.

¹⁶ Ancizar to González Vigil, Lima, June 1, 1855, Vicuña Mackenna, *Colección de ensayos i documentos relativos a la unión i confederación de los pueblos hispano-americanos*, p. 338. Although more comprehensive in its scope, the regional feature of this proposal was akin to that sponsored by Bello and his associates in 1834. (*Ante*, p. 5, note 9). And Ancizar, ardent supporter of the Lima plan, was intimately acquainted with the venerable Bello.

¹⁷ Ancizar to González Vigil, Lima, June 1, 1855, Vicuña Mackenna, *op. cit.*, p. 338. At the "American Congress" assembled in Lima (1847-1848), the delegate of New Granada had recommended the abolition of privateering among the confederate states. (Aranda, *Congresos y conferencias internacionales*, I, 119 ff., 196-203; José María Torres Caicedo, *Unión latino americana pensamiento de Bolívar para formar una liga americana su origen y sus desarrollos*, Paris, 1865, pp. 148-157).

the Peruvian chargé d'affaires, revealed to Varas the solicitude of President Ramón Castilla for a "union of the American States."¹⁸ As a statesman, the chargé enjoyed the confidence of Castilla; as a bibliophile, he must have cherished his professional relations with Francisco de Paula González Vigil, energetic director of the Peruvian National Library.¹⁹ And as a gifted propagandist, González Vigil was esteemed by the Peruvian executive because he employed his talent to lash a dictatorial Roman curia and its efforts to dispute the supremacy of the state. Furthermore, Manuel Ancizar, the New Granadian who had dominated the Lima conversations, counted the self-assertive librarian among his closest friends.²⁰ Consequently, by a comprehension of the interrelationships involving these four personalities, one can trace the evolution of these unionist ideas from their origin, through their translation into a definitive mold of an international invitation, to their official advertisement in Santiago.

It was February, 1856, before three Peruvians of "proved patriotism, distinguished talent and intelligence" were entrusted with the task of determining Peru's stake in a continental treaty.²¹ During the previous November (1855),

¹⁸ Manuel Ortiz de Zavallos, foreign minister, to Juan Celestino, chargé d'affaires to Ecuador, Lima, August 5, 1857, Ricardo Aranda, ed., *Colección de los tratados, convenciones, armisticios y otros actos diplomaticos y politicos celebrados desde la independencia hasta el día*, V (Lima, 1895), 159. (Hereafter cited as Aranda, *Colección de los tratados*.) Chile. Ministerio de relaciones exteriores. *Memoria que el ministro presenta al congreso nacional año de 1855*, [pp. 5; 19].

¹⁹ Gabriel René-Moreno, ed., *Biblioteca peruana; apuntes para un catálogo de impresos*, I (Santiago, 1896), 440.

²⁰ Rafael M. Mesa Ortiz, ed., *Colombianos ilustres; estudios y biografías*, I (Bogotá, 1916), 236. Ancizar's letter of June 1, 1855, to González Vigil was intended to acquaint the latter with all the details of the Lima conferences. The New Granadian was aware of the fact that González Vigil was preparing to publish his own point of view upon the subject. Ancizar sought to have a portion of his proposal incorporated into the publication. The librarian was partial, however, to a confederation of the American republics wherein they acknowledged a "general constitution" and were represented in a "constitutional" instead of a "diplomatic congress of plenipotentiaries." The first edition of González Vigil's *Paz perpetua en América o federación americana* was printed in Bogotá, 1856; the second in Lima, 1856. (René-Moreno, *Biblioteca peruana*, I, 338). A substantial extract of the second edition is available in Vicuña Mackenna, *Colección de ensayos i documentos*, pp. 300-330.

²¹ José María Seguí, acting minister of foreign affairs, to Coronel Cegarra,

President Urbina of Ecuador had accepted "with great pleasure" Chile's invitation to negotiate a treaty on "piratical and filibustering expeditions."²² And on March 26, 1856, Francisco J. Aguirre, the impetuous Ecuadorean, was received in the Chilean capital as minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary.

Owing to the rupture of diplomatic relations between Ecuador and Peru, and to his ignorance of the Chilean overture to Ecuador, the Peruvian chargé's suspicions were aroused by the appearance of Aguirre. Through an exchange of confidences with an observant agent of the Argentine Confederation, he learned that Aguirre had submitted to the Chilean foreign minister a memorandum upon a "general treaty among the Hispanic-American States"; and that the Ecuadorean had reluctantly consented to its examination by the South American diplomatic corps at Santiago.²³ Under these extenuating circumstances, drafts of a continental treaty were prepared by Chilean officials, were promptly approved at Lima, and by June, 1856, a tentative plan "for the convening of an American Conference" had been presented to the chargé d'affaires of the Argentine Confederation, and of Brazil.²⁴

The emergence of this conference movement should thus be interpreted, it would seem, as the achievement of an ideal

Lima, February 12, 1856, Aranda, *Congresos y conferencias internacionales*, I, 219f.

²² Gana to Varas, Quito, November 12, 1855, Varas, *Cuestiones americanas*, p. 181. In his message of September 16, 1856, to the legislature, Urbina was to manifest his distaste for a revival of the "Colombian confederation," a movement for which was already afoot when he agreed to parley with Chile. (Aurelio Noboa, ed., *Recopilación de mensajes dirigidos por los presidentes y vice presidentes de la república, jefes supremos y gobiernos provisorios a los convenciones y congresos nacionales desde el año de 1819 hasta nuestros días*, II [Guayaquil, 1900-], 232).

²³ Coronel Cegarra to Segúin, Santiago, April 24, 28, 1856, Aranda, *Congresos y conferencias internacionales*, I, 222 f.

²⁴ Segúin to Coronel Cegarra, Callao, May 28, 1856; Coronel Cegarra to Segúin, Santiago, June 12, 1856, Aranda, *Congresos y conferencias internacionales*, I, 224 f. Upon receipt of these documents in Peru, copies were transmitted to all Peruvian diplomatic posts. Owing to the absence of diplomatic relations between Ecuador and Peru, Coronel Cegarra had Chile's Varas communicate the plan to Aguirre.

by practical-minded statesmen who, regardless of their cultural associations, perceived the necessity of asserting sectional supremacy, of increasing national prestige, and of consolidating party control. The filibustering activities of William Walker in Nicaragua, however, have been traditionally regarded as the *cause célèbre* of the Continental Treaty.

On May 4, 1855, William Walker, upon his adventure into Central American politics, had sailed from San Francisco. On his arrival in Nicaragua where no South American government had diplomatic representation, and weeks after the commencement of negotiations at Santiago, Walker united his forces with those of the "outs" under Francisco Castellón.

Walker's early successes concealed the ultimate import of one glaring error. When the filibuster dictated the revocation of the Accessory Transit Company's charter, and issued another to two conniving officials of that firm, he initiated his own undoing by incurring the hatred of Cornelius Vanderbilt, president of the company.²⁵ Nevertheless, on May 14, 1856, President Franklin Pierce received Agustín Vijil, Walker's padre diplomat.²⁶ The reception of Vijil by the Pierce administration virtually confirmed Hispanic-American suspicions, particularly those of Costa Rica, that the United States was the filibuster's official sponsor.

With the advent of war between Costa Rica and the Walker-Rivas coalition in Nicaragua, President Joan Rafael Mora had instructed Nasario Toledo to solicit the allied support of Guatemala, Honduras, and Salvador.²⁷ In Guatemala,

²⁵ William O. Scroggs, *Filibusters and Financiers*, (New York, 1916), pp. 150-155.

²⁶ James Daniel Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VI, 2905. With the approach of the Democratic national convention, this presidential action might properly be interpreted as a bid for the support of those politicians who demanded recognition of Walker, and defiance of Great Britain's Central American policy. (Roy Franklin Nichols, *Franklin Pierce; young hickory of the granite hills* (Philadelphia, 1931), pp. 460 ff.) Ostracized by his colleagues of the Hispanic-American diplomatic corps, Vijil was only a month in the United States.

²⁷ Conservative politically, apprehensive lest an alien movement in a neighboring state should destroy its particularistic program, and possessing a covetous regard for the isthmian transit route, the Mora government had been among the first stridently to denounce Walker's invasion. (Luis Molina to Marcy, Washington, December 20, 1855, translation, Manning, *Inter-American Affairs*, IV, 497 f.;

where he was obligated to pay his respects to the Mexican minister, Toledo conversed at length with his host and the Spanish chargé upon the "fate of the Spanish race on the American continent."²⁸ As a safeguard against political liquidation, both the Costa Rican and Mexican advocated the formation of "a defensive and offensive alliance among all the Hispanic-American republics . . . at an assembly of plenipotentiaries."²⁹ Spain's representative heartily commended the proposal. Costa Rica's temporary abandonment of the war with Walker and his allies compelled the recall of Toledo, and cut short the further development of this idea in the Central-American scene.

The immediate Hispanic-American response to President Pierce's reception of Vijil was a flurry of protests from the Central American diplomatic corps. Several South American governments reacted more decisively. In New Granada and Venezuela high ranking officials exploited the episode to further their scheme of reëstablishing "Great Colombia" to which they would add Central America.³⁰ The conclusion of a treaty of friendship and commerce between New Granada and

Lorenzo Montúfar y Rivera Maestre, *Reseña histórico de Centro América*, VII, [Guatemala, 1887], 385 ff.)

²⁸ Juan Nepomuceno Pereda to [Juan Antonio de la Fuente], Mexican foreign minister, Guatemala, June 14, 1856, confidential, No. 4, folios 26f., Congreso de plenipotenciarios de los estados hispano-americanos; proyecto. Facsimiles from the Mexican Archives. Library of Congress. Washington, D. C. (Hereafter cited as Facsimiles from Mexican Archives).

²⁹ Pereda to Facundo de Goni, Spanish chargé d'affaires to Central America, Guatemala, May 31, 1856, confidential, copy, enclosed with Pereda to de la Fuente, Guatemala, June 14, 1856, No. 4, Facsimiles from the Mexican Archives. Toledo proposed that Mexico should revive the treaties drafted at the Congress of Panama and Tacubaya (1825-1826). (Memorandum of Nasario Toledo, May 27, 1856, inclosure "S" with Pereda to de la Fuente, No. 4, Facsimiles from Mexican Archives). To which the Mexican foreign minister replied that "at the appropriate time" Pereda would receive instructions "comporting to this point." ([Luis de la Rosa] to Pereda, Mexico, July 16, 1856, confidential, folio 31, Facsimiles from Mexican Archives).

³⁰ New Granada. Ministerio de relaciones exteriores. *Exposición del secretario de relaciones exteriores al congreso de la Nueva Granada en sus sesiones ordinarias de 1857* (Bogotá, 1857), p. 6; Venezuela. Congreso. Cámara de representantes. *Diario de debates*, January 28, 1857, series 1, No. 4; *El Peruano*, Lima, April 10, 11, 1857.

tive body was invested with the "right and power to offer its mediation . . . in the event of differences arising among the contracting States." The disputants were obligated to accept such intercession. Parenthetically, whenever any one of them violated the Continental Treaty, or in the case "of any other offense committed . . . by one of the States upon another," the aggrieved party was bound not to declare war before issuing a statement of reasons, and before exhausting all amicable means of settlement. On the other hand, they could not be coerced, either directly or indirectly "by any acts, resolutions, or declarations of the Congress." Moreover, the latter body was prohibited from concerning itself with "the intestine commotions, internal movements or agitations" of the affiliated nations.

Like other treaties, however, the Continental Treaty was pieced together by bargain and compromise. Having altered their original purport to his own satisfaction, Peru's chargé gave his approval to two articles, one encouraging "the diffusion of primary instruction and useful knowledge"; and the other extending liberal privileges to members of the learned professions. Article thirteen forbade the alienation or cession of territory by any of the contracting powers except when they sought a mutual readjustment of boundaries. Because of its relative unimportance, the Peruvian "consented" to this conditional clause.³⁹ He argued successfully for a separate convention to define the procedure of extradition. And he secured his associates' assent to a provision which pledged each of the signatories to lend assistance whenever either of them was threatened by "piratical expeditions or aggressions."

The incorporation of this article was roundly applauded in Ecuador where the alleged filibustering activities of Flores were being enormously exaggerated by a government-controlled press.⁴⁰ President Urbina's envoy worked feverishly,

³⁹ Coronel Cegarra to Seguín, Santiago, September 15, 1856, Aranda, *Congresos y conferencias internacionales*, I, 227.

⁴⁰ Domingo Elías of Peru, General Andrés Santa Cruz of Bolivia, and Juan José Flores were accused of plotting "to take possession of Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia in order to 'monarquizar' these Republics." Extra space was given to the announcement of another filibustering expedition under the joint command of

too, for a proposal which would preserve the independence of each State, and would bar the massing of troops on frontiers preparatory to invasion. Ancillary clauses withholding the grant of office, title, or any other form of emolument to the leaders of such enterprizes, and denying to nationals, who participated therein, the protection of their governments, circumvented a Peruvian scheme to secure a pension for Flores. These formal guarantees and restrictions serve, in some degree, to explain why Ecuador ratified the Continental Treaty.

Throughout the negotiations, Chile had admittedly kept its "mercantile interests . . . in view."⁴¹ Article four of the treaty embraced the chief features of a postal reform effected in 1852. This national measure had accelerated commercial expansion by the imposition of low and uniform rates. The business-like Montt administration had also staked an infant merchant marine. To facilitate the latter's prosperous growth, Varas won for Chilean shippers equality with nationals "in the seas, rivers, and ports" of the confederates. And article nine provided for the adoption of uniform systems of coinage, weights and measures, and tariffs.

On several occasions, a unanimity of opinion prevailed among the otherwise bickering delegates. In conformance with the "declarations" of Paris, they affirmed that a neutral flag covered enemy goods except contraband of war; that neutral goods under an enemy flag were free except contraband of war; and that the practice of privateering was unlawful.⁴² They agreed further that diplomatic and consular pro-

"general" Flores and Jeremiah Clemens, former United States senator. (Gana to Varas, Quito, May 12, 1855; *idem* to *idem*, Quito, June 11, 1855, Varas, *Cuestiones americanas*, p. 160; White to Marcy, Quito, May 16, 1855, No. 54, confidential, Manning, *Inter-American Affairs*, VI, 356).

⁴¹ Chile. Congreso. *Sesiones del congreso nacional de 1857*, número 1, pp. 1 f.; *British and Foreign State Papers*, XLIX (1858-1859), 1156.

⁴² New Granada had circulated a note inviting approval of the Declaration of Paris. The Argentine Confederation and Ecuador adhered directly to the "declarations." Brazil, Mexico, and Venezuela joined the United States in declining to accept the principle which outlawed privateering. Guatemala, Honduras, New Granada, Peru, and Salvador adhered indirectly by treaties with France and Italy. (New Granada. Ministerio de relaciones exteriores. *Exposición al congreso constitucional de 1857*, pp. xv-xvii; Francis Piggott, *The Declaration of Paris* (London, 1919), pp. 135-142 *passim*).

tection should be extended to nationals of one State within another's territory where the former was without representation. And thirdly, they bound their governments to define the rights, privileges, exemptions, and attributes of diplomatic and consular agents, and to adhere to such rules in their relations with non-signatory, particularly European, States.

Having adjourned less than twenty-four hours after the Continental Treaty had been signed, the Chilean chamber of deputies thereby deferred the prospect of ratification to its next session, nine months later. Extolling the treaty as an instrument designed to eradicate "piracy, a third revolutionary element" from the South American continent, President Urbina of Ecuador transmitted that document to congress on the eve of his retirement from office.⁴³ In Lima, the committee on foreign affairs was at the same time discovering "the basis of an alliance" in the pact.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the committee deemed the provision for a congress of plenipotentiaries to be the "nucleus of the treaty," while it condemned the vagueness of the article on extradition, and belittled as "unnecessary" the granting of privileges to members of the learned professions. In view of these minor objections, President Castilla was advised to reopen negotiations.

While the Continental Treaty was under congressional scrutiny, J. Randolph Clay, the United States minister to Peru, sought to learn all its provisions from Castilla's foreign minister, and from the Chilean chargé. Their guarded statements furnished Clay with a bare but essential outline of the tripartite agreement. When he pressed his government's view that privateering should be an asset to nations deficient in sea power, both men "admitted the strength" of the thesis. Nevertheless, they discountenanced a revision of the treaty to sanction the practice. Angered by this smugness, Clay rashly had the American argument published in the opposition press, and copies of it circulated on the floor of the National Convention.⁴⁵ Before the spasm of his indignation had passed, he

⁴³ Noboa, *Recopilación de mensajes*, II, 269. October 7, 1856.

⁴⁴ "Report of the Diplomatic Committee of the National Convention of Peru on the Continental Treaty" enclosed with Clay to Marcy, Lima, November 10, 1856, No. 325, Despatches, Peru, XII; *La Crónica*, New York, January 28, 1857.

⁴⁵ *El Comercio*, Lima, October 8, 1856, enclosed with Clay to Marcy, Lima,

accused Brazil of abetting the conspiracy of Chile and Peru to cement an alliance against "the ambitions and incursions of the United States."⁴⁶

There was a point of view from which this charge of international misconduct appeared justifiable; and from which the alleged method of retaliation seemed necessary. The recruiting of William Walker's filibusters had been protestingly witnessed by Hispanic-American agents in the United States. Their irritation had been further accentuated by the insertion of a pro-Walker plank in the Democratic national platform. In the Fall of 1856, they sullenly anticipated the election of that party's nominee to the presidency.

Prior to that event, the Hispanic-American diplomatic corps had assembled at the Peruvian legation in Washington. On November 9, 1856, after a two-day conference, six representatives of seven Latin-American governments signed a "plan of alliance," a treaty *sub spe ratiss.*⁴⁷ The terms of the Continental Treaty were unknown to the conferees. In view of this fact, the Peruvian minister resident and presiding officer declined to "concur in anything" which would differ "essentially" from Peru's original proposal for a multilateral pact.⁴⁸ His colleagues assented even to the point of designating Lima rather than San José, Costa Rica, as the first meeting place of the "American Congress." Juan de Osma thus

October 11, 1856, No. 319, Despatches, Peru, XII. By his association with the editors of this anti-Castilla sheet, Clay nullified the good effect which Marcy's note had previously created. (New York *Daily Times*, October 14, 29, 1856).

⁴⁶ Clay to Marcy, Lima, November 10, 1856, No. 325, Despatches, Peru, XII.

⁴⁷ The original sponsor of this conference had been General Pedro Alcántara Herrán, New Granadian minister to the United States. His suggestion was actively promoted in September, 1856 by Manuel Robles Pezuela, a Mexican colleague. Costa Rica, Guatemala, Mexico, New Granada, Peru, Salvador, and Venezuela were represented at these sessions. Antonio José Irisarri attended as a delegate of Guatemala and Salvador. Owing to the illness of the Peruvian minister's wife, the meetings scheduled originally for New York were shifted to Washington. (Osma to Seguín, New York, September 2, 1856; *idem* to *idem*, Washington, December 3, 1856, Aranda, *Congresos y conferencias internacionales*, I, 303, 314).

⁴⁸ Copies of the alliance project sanctioned by Peru in May, 1855, had been communicated to all its diplomatic missions in America and Europe. Osma had received his during July, 1855. (Osma to Seguín, Washington, December 3, 1856, Aranda, *Congresos y conferencias internacionales*, I, 315).

avoided the compromises to which the Peruvian envoy had surrendered during the tripartite negotiations at Santiago.

Meanwhile, inter-American diplomacy in the South Pacific was again lively. Nasario Toledo and Gregorio Escalante, two Costa Ricans whose mission was to elicit aid from Chile and Peru to fight Walker, had arrived at Lima early in December, 1856. While they were there awaiting assistance from the Castilla administration, these envoys-at-large invited all the Hispanic American republics to an "American Congress" at San José.⁴⁹ President Castilla of Peru responded by appointing Pedro Gálvez, his minister of justice, as minister resident to Central America, New Granada, and Venezuela. Gálvez was instructed to secure adherences to and ratifications of the Continental Treaty. Undismayed, Nasario Toledo issued from Santiago another invitation in the name of Costa Rica.⁵⁰

The several South American governments reacted variously to this movement for a general conference. Although he endorsed the project, President Urquiza of the Argentine Confederation asserted that only "partial" or bi-lateral pacts "could effect the objectives of the American Congress."⁵¹ Interpreting article two of the Continental Treaty as detri-

⁴⁹ [Nasario Toledo and Gregorio Escalante] to Juan de la Cruz Benavente, Lima, December 13, 1856, enclosed with Dana to Marcy, La Paz, February 28, 1857, No. 33, Manning, *Inter-American Affairs*, II, 62 f.; René-Moreno, *Biblioteca peruana*, I, 96.

⁵⁰ New York *Herald*, August 27, 1857, quoting *El Semanario*, Asunción, March 22, 1857.

⁵¹ Enclosure with James A. Peden to Lewis Cass, Paraná, May 25, 1857, No. 79, Manning, *Inter-American Affairs*, I, 643; Argentina. Ministerio de relaciones exteriores. *Memoria presentada . . . al soberano congreso en 1857* (typewritten copy), p. 6. A critical exposition of the Argentine thesis against a continental league was evolved by Rufino Elizalde in 1862. The Maximilian affair and Spanish domination over the Dominican Republic were behind Peru's later efforts to revive the Continental Treaty. "Independent America is a political entity which does not exist," averred the nationalistic foreign minister, "nor is it possible to construct it by diplomatic combinations." (Rufino Elizalde to [Buenaventura] Seoane, Buenos Aires, November 10, 1862, Aranda, *Congresos y conferencias internacionales*, I, 242). In 1857, however, the advocacy of an "American Federation" was being promoted in Buenos Aires by Francisco Bilbao, a Chilean polemic and editor of *La revista del Nuevo Mundo*. ("Cartas de Francisco de Bilbao a don Miguel Luis Amunátegui." *Revista chilena de historia y geografía*, LXIX, 1931, 15).

mental to an effective fluvial convention between Brazil and Peru, the agent of D. Pedro II suggested a modification of that treaty.⁵² He was later instructed to reject the Peruvian overture for Brazil's acceptance of the Continental Treaty. Owing to nationalistic sentiment in Ecuador and Venezuela, Lino de Pombo despaired of ever establishing a "Central Spanish-American Confederation." In this frame of mind, New Granada's foreign minister assailed an Hispanic-American alliance "secured by continental congresses and permanent treaties . . . [as] not only impracticable but also useless and even prejudicial."⁵³ On the contrary, the administration of General Francisco Bulnes in Ecuador sought a safe anchorage from the threatening tide of a "conservative" opposition by ratifying the Continental Treaty.⁵⁴ In his message to a docile congress, President Monagas applauded the project for a unification of the "Colombian States." He referred to the movement "for a greater and more powerful confederation."⁵⁵ His audience knew, however, that the Venezuelan executive desired above all a "workable" constitution which would prolong his rule. Apprehensive of the limits to which American aggressiveness might extend, Bolivia accepted the Costa Rican proposal of December 13, 1856.⁵⁶ Nasario Toledo's invitation

⁵² Ortiz de Zavallos to Juan Celestino Caverio, Lima, August 5, 1857, Peru. Ministerio de relaciones exteriores. *Memoria que el ministro presenta al congreso nacional convocado extraordinariamente para el mes de octubre de 1858*, document No. 1; Aranda, *Colección de los tratados*, V, 159 f. Castilla's foreign minister attributed that "very pardonable" oversight to the "urgency of time" which had compelled a hasty scrutiny of the original plan for a treaty of alliance.

⁵³ New Granada. Ministerio de relaciones exteriores. *Exposición al congreso en sus sesiones ordinarias de 1857*, p. 7; *El Peruano*, Lima, April 10, 1857.

⁵⁴ Antonio Mata to [Manuel Ortiz de Zavallos], Quito, March 17, 1857, *El Peruano*, Lima, July 22, 1857. When the United States minister to Ecuador read an English translation of this treaty in the *New York Herald* (January 30, 1857), he misconstrued article ten which outlawed privateering as affecting the belligerent rights of his government. An immediate audience with the foreign minister settled his doubt. Mata regarded the translation as a "perversion" of the article's real intent. (White to Cass, Quito, April 4, 1857, No. 108, Manning, *Inter-American Affairs*, VI, 401 f.)

⁵⁵ Venezuela. Congreso. Cámara de representantes. *Diario de debates*, January 26, 1857, series I, No. 4.

⁵⁶ Juan de la Cruz Benavente to [Nasario Toledo and Gregorio Escalante], n. d., enclosed with Dana to Marcy, La Paz, February 28, 1857, No. 33, Despatches, Bolivia, I; Manning, *Inter-American Affairs*, II, 63.

of December 26, 1856, penetrated to the Paraguayan capital late in March, 1857. This was too late, according to a note of regret, for a delegate of Carlos Antonio López to journey to San José before the following May.⁵⁷

Their proximity to the reality of Walker, whom they vilified as the incarnate symbol of American territorial rapacity, would naturally have prompted the Central American allies to embrace any program of Hispanic-American coöperation. Consequently, the arrival of Peru's thirty-five-year-old minister resident in San José, on January 22, 1857, was welcome indeed.⁵⁸ Within ten days, Pedro Gálvez had secured Costa Rica's adherence to the Continental Treaty.⁵⁹ And on April 20, 1857, he was equally successful in Guatemala.⁶⁰

During his residence in the Guatemalan capital, Gálvez had become acquainted with Juan Nepomuceno Pereda, Mexico's inveterate advocate of an Hispanic-American alliance and congress. In May, 1856, Pereda had exchanged confi-

⁵⁷ *Supra*, p. 48, footnote 50.

⁵⁸ *El Peruano*, Lima, March 11, 1857; *New York Daily Times*, May 14, 1857; Lorenzo Montúfar y Rivera Maestre, *Reseña histórica de Centro América*, VII (Guatemala, 1887), 754. Pedro Gálvez had been born in Cajamarca, April 30, 1822. He attended the *Colegio de San Ramón*, and the *Convictorio de San Carlos*. At the latter institution, he became attached to the "material views" of Condillac and Descartes which were interpreted by Bartolomé Herrera, professor of philosophy and jurisprudence. Gálvez was admitted to the bar in 1845. During the next ten years he served intermittently as a deputy in the National Convention. With the advent of Castilla to power in 1856, he was appointed minister of justice. Upon the termination of his Central and South American mission, Gálvez was Peru's representative in Spain, France, and Great Britain. (Juan Antonio Ribeyro, ed., *Anales universitarios del Perú*, IX, Lima, 1878, xviii-xlvi).

⁵⁹ This agreement became law on October 5, 1857. (*El Peruano*, Lima, October 10, 1857, Peru. Laws, statutes. *Colección de leyes, decretos y ordenes publicados en el Perú desde el año de 1821 hasta 31 de diciembre, 1859*, Lima, 1862, p. 277; Aranda, *Colección de los tratados*, III, 519 ff.). The Peruvian loan of 100,000 pesos to Costa Rica, however, was not effected until March 22, 1858. (Peru. Laws, statutes. *Colección de leyes*, pp. 277 f.; Peru. Ministerio de relaciones exteriores. *Memoria que el ministro presenta al congreso nacional convocado extraordinariamente para el mes de octubre de 1858*, Lima, 1858, pp. 8 f.).

⁶⁰ This bi-lateral treaty was ratified on October 5, 1857. (*El Peruano*, Lima, October 10, 1857; Peru. Laws, statutes. *Colección de leyes*, p. 279). Prior to approval of the Continental Treaty, the Guatemalan house of representatives had acted favorably upon the *sub spe ratis* treaty of Washington. (Pereda to [Ezequiel Montes], Guatemala, February 28, 1857, No. 31, folios 32 f. Facsimiles from Mexican Archives.

dences with his Costa Rican and Spanish colleagues; then, in May, 1857, he and Gálvez "became quite intimate and frank in [their] frequent conversations."⁶¹ At one time, Pereda pictured to his friend the profound "influence" which Chile, Mexico, and Peru might exert upon the destiny of Hispanic America. Upon another occasion, he spoke harshly of the *sub spe ratis* treaty of Washington, its haphazard negotiation, and the untimely "publicity" accorded it.⁶² Pereda's remarks were intended to convince Gálvez that Mexico City as the political rather than the geographical center of Latin America should be designated as the permanent seat of the "Great American Congress." Nothing more than a river separated Mexico from the "Colossus of the North," and in the Mexican capital there resided a formidable alien diplomatic corps. Would not the presence of a zealous Hispanic-American bloc serve to protect this vulnerable flank?

Unfortunately, Gálvez countered, it would be "difficult to secure a uniformity of agreement" on a site for the assembly.⁶³ "Conflicting opinions" had indicated a preference for a rotating system, or for its establishment at Lima, at Panama, or at San José. Mexico would be too far distant from

⁶¹ Pereda to [L. de Palacio y Margarola], Guatemala, May 23, 1857, No. 5, folio 38. Facsimiles from Mexican Archives. Before these discussions with Gálvez, Pereda had prepared and transmitted to his government an elaborate memorandum or "general reflections upon the necessity for the re-convening of a congress of representatives of the Hispanic American States." In this document, he warned against the ultimate absorption of the Latin race in America by the Anglo-Saxon as represented by the United States. To prevent this disaster, he proposed an "offensive and defensive alliance" among the Hispanic-American States. He envisaged its maturity as a comprehensive alliance of all Latin "or at least Spanish States." (Enclosed with Pereda to [Ezequiel Montes], Guatemala, March 28, 1857, Antonio de la Peña y Reyes, *El congreso de Panamá y algunos otros proyectos de unión hispano americana* (Archivo histórico diplomático mexicano, XIX, Mexico, 1926, 162-189).

⁶² By May, 1857, the text, and Salvador's ratification of the *sub spe ratis* treaty had appeared in the Hispanic-American press, and that of the United States. (*Gaceta del gobierno*, Salvador, February 19, 1857, enclosed with Pereda to [Ezequiel Montes], Guatemala, February 28, 1857, No. 31, folio 33 a, b. Facsimiles from Mexican Archives; New York *Herald*, March 29, 30, 1857; *La Crónica*, New York, April 2, 1857).

⁶³ Memorandum of Gálvez, Guatemala, May 19, 1857, enclosed with Pereda to [Palacio y Margarola], Guatemala, May 23, 1857, No. 5, folios 43-45. Facsimiles from Mexican Archives.

their governments for the South American delegates at a "Continental Congress" to receive instructions frequently and regularly. A "large number" of the States would protest against the convening of a conference "in the neighborhood of a powerful nation." Gálvez and Pereda parted. Subsequently, on June 18, 1857, the itinerant envoy welcomed the adherence of Nicaragua and Salvador to the Continental Treaty.⁶⁴

Circumstances were already conspiring to nullify Gálvez's achievements in Central America. Six weeks after the publication of its text in the New York press, and a fortnight after Walker's surrender to an American naval commander, the United States department of state evinced a general concern over "the scope and objects of the Congress" as described in the *sub spe ratis* treaty. The apparent complicity of Peru was likewise disturbing. To remove all doubt or to verify suspicions, J. Randolph Clay was importuned "to elicit . . . [a] direct" explanation from the Castilla administration.⁶⁵ Clay carried out this instruction in two interviews with Peru's foreign minister. Ortiz de Zevallos denied that either he or his predecessor had invited the Hispanic-American States to an international conference. He reminded his inquisitor, furthermore, that until the signatory governments had ratified the Continental Treaty, the "Congress of Plenipotentiaries" existed on paper only, and at the same time disavowed Osma's rôle in the discussions leading up to the *sub spe ratis* treaty of Washington. And, Ortiz de Zevallos added with a touch of pride, the National Convention had upon his advice rejected the Continental Treaty of Santiago "in its present form."⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Although both bi-lateral pacts were ratified by the Peruvian National Convention, ratifications were only exchanged between Peru and Salvador. (Peru. Laws, statutes. *Colección de leyes*, pp. 282, 285; Aranda, *Colección de los tratados*, X, 401-406; XI, 5-9; *El Peruano*, Lima, October 10, 1857).

⁶⁵ Cass to Clay, Washington, May 18, 1857, No. 60, Instructions, Peru, XV.

⁶⁶ Communication to the council of ministers, Lima, June 26, 1857, Aranda, *Congresos y conferencias internacionales*, I, 237; *El Peruano*, Lima, July 22, 1857. Again, the "Diplomatic Committee" had urged a revision of those articles referring to extradition, the obligations of the contracting States; and had criticized the Costa Rica-Peru treaty for its failure to stipulate terms of duration. (Ignacio Esecudero, Lima, May 5, 1857, Vieuña Mackenna, *Colección de ensayos i documentos relativos a la unión i confederación*, pp. 114-129).

A vote of approval, retorted Clay, "might have complicated" relations between Peru and the United States. Ratification of the Continental Treaty and of the *sub spe ratis* pact, Clay soberly conjectured, would have presented

the singular spectacle of a Union of all the Nations of the Western Hemisphere, exclusive of the United States. And the only solution that could be given of the cause of such exclusion would be that the nations signing the treaties had formed themselves into a league to control the power of the United States.⁶⁷

Shortly after Brazil's minister and the National Convention had found fault with the tripartite treaty, Juan Celestino Cavero was appointed Peruvian chargé d'affaires to Ecuador. His goal was Ecuador's consent to a revision of the Continental Treaty. He found the Robles administration involved in a fatal dispute with Juan José Flores over restitution of the latter's property.⁶⁸ By participation in this domestic issue, Cavero rendered his mission abortive.

The spirit of retaliation attending party disintegration and factional coalition in Chile smothered any hope of ratifying the Continental Treaty there. A minority group of Chilean "liberals," whose leaders had sponsored the ideal of a continental union, held the balance of power when congress convened on June 1, 1857. The two major factions courted that pivotal bloc. In this circumstance, the unanimous passage of the treaty in the senate is understandable.⁶⁹ Subsequently, the ultraconservatives outmaneuvered their opponents by introducing an amnesty bill designed to release

⁶⁷ Clay to Cass, Lima, June 26, July 11, 1857, Nos. 372, 378, Despatches, Peru, XIII. Clay's opinion that the treaties had been finally disposed of was hopefully shared by the State department. (Cass to Clay, Washington, August 25, 1857, No. 65, Instructions, Peru, XV).

⁶⁸ To add to his discomfiture, President Francisco Robles was embarrassed by the fact of Flores' appointment as honorary general-in-chief of the Venezuelan army. (Venezuela. Congreso. Cámara del senado. *Diario de debates*, May 11, 1857, series 3, No. 66; New York *Herald*, May 17, 1857). Frustrated by internal and external forces in his efforts to rid himself of Flores, Robles capitulated finally to the "conservative" party led by Gabriel García Moreno, his successor. (J[osé] L[e] G[ouhiry] y R[odas], *Historia de la república del Ecuador*, I, 395 ff.; R. P. A. Berthe, *García Moreno, presidente de la república del Ecuador*, Paris, 1892, pp. 254 ff.)

⁶⁹ Chile, Congreso, *Sesiones del congreso nacional de 1857*, No. 1 (cámara de senadores), June 17, 19, 1857, pp. 32ff.

hesitant "liberals" from their fear of exile because of a too active opposition. After senate and chamber of deputies had stymied each other's vote, the amnesty measure went to President Montt who returned it with two emasculatory modifications. Passage of a compromise bill inspired a coalition of the extreme "conservatives" and "liberals." On August 18, 1857, the lower house debated the articles of the treaty. The derisive attack upon them by prominent "liberals" and the acuteness of a ministerial crisis induced Antonio Varas, majority leader, to consent to an indefinite postponement.⁷⁰ The Continental Treaty was officially shelved by the three contracting governments—Chile, Ecuador, and Peru—on September 14, 1857.

By this latter date the Central American allies and Cornelius Vanderbilt had triumphed over Walker. Moreover, the government at Washington had manifested, by word and action, its disapproval of Walker's enterprise.⁷¹ This removal

⁷⁰ Chile. Congreso. *Sesiones del congreso nacional de 1857*, No. 2 (cámara de diputados), August 11, 18, 1857, pp. 122, 134. The chief critics in this debate were President Montt's most formidable opponents, namely, Manuel Antonio Tocornal, Antonio García Reyes, and Anjel Custudio Gallo. At the height of this conflict, Varas, who bore the brunt of these anti-Montt thrusts because of alleged presidential ambitions, was possessed with the desire "to withdraw more and more from public life." (Varas to Blanco Encalada, Santiago, July 31, 1857, Varas Velásquez, *Correspondencia de Varas con Blanco Encalada*, p. 278). The fulfillment of this wish was distant. In his annual report of 1860, Varas viewed the Continental Treaty as a peace-time instrument containing "nothing in it which constituted an alliance of governments; it was designed to bring the peoples closer together, and to remove those barriers which thwarted their prosperity and aggrandizement." The Continental Treaty came up for discussion also during the congressional sessions of 1861 and 1862. In the latter year, the chamber of deputies approved of articles 10, 13, 14, and 19. (Chile, Ministerio de relaciones exteriores. *Memoria que el ministro presenta al congreso nacional de 1860*, Santiago, 1860, p. 2; Carlos E. Grez Pérez, *Los intentos de unión hispano americano y la guerra de España en el Pacífico*, Santiago, 1928, p. 83 f.)

⁷¹ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VI, 298f.; Scroggs, *Filibusters and Financiers*, 286 ff. Buchanan's assertion that the United States could "never feel indifferent" to the fate of the Hispanic-American States was ammunition for those colleagues (Lord Palmerston in particular) of Lord Clarendon who advocated the maintenance of a firm policy against American expansion to the south. Richard W. Van Alstyne, "Anglo-American Relations, 1853-57," *American Historical Review*, XLII (April, 1937), 492-500. The British secretary of state for foreign affairs chose, however, to assure Buchanan that "beyond a free, secure and cheap transit we have no interest whatever in Central America except to get out with credit. . . . We shall never interfere with their [Central

of a threat common to the several Hispanic-American nations let loose pent-up international, factional, and personal rivalries. Forced into temporary retirement was an Hispanic-American ideal: the international conference of American States.⁷²

Time and circumstances have wrought a different complexion. In 1889, the first "International Conference of American States" was convened at Washington. Eight inter-American, and ancillary conferences have subsequently endowed the American governments with beneficial experience, and have created permanent Pan-American machinery—the Pan-American Union, and its Governing Board. Furthermore, technological progress in transportation and transmission have facilitated mutual contact among the American nations. At Panama, again, on October 3, 1939, the foreign ministers of twenty-one American Republics approved of a "Joint Declaration of Continental Solidarity." Their governments were seeking to preserve peace in the American continents and to promote "its reestablishment throughout the world."⁷³

GUSTAVE A. NUERMBERGER.

Duke University Library.

America] affairs unless by joining with you in declaring that the transit shall be kept open and shall never again be interrupted by their miserable wars and jealousies." (Clarendon to James Buchanan. Foreign Office, [London], October 9, 1857. *Private*. James Buchanan Collection. Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

⁷² European invasion of Mexico and the Dominican Republic was responsible for Peru's revival of the Continental Treaty in the period 1861-1865. Those governments bordering on the western and northern rim of the South American continent were vitally interested. In their dilemma, they turned to the United States. They proffered military aid to the federal government in order that it might arrest civil war more quickly, and that it might reciprocate their help. Secretary of State William H. Seward was always evasive until the Union forces had clinched victory. Then, he turned a deaf ear to "Alliance" conversations. On October 28, 1864, however, ministers plenipotentiary from six Hispanic-American governments assembled at Lima in the "South American Congress." The preliminaries to this organization and its dubious achievements constitute another chapter in multi-lateral diplomacy among the American states.

⁷³ Pan American Union. *Bulletin*, LXXIII, No. 11 (November, 1939), 614.

JOSE ALVAREZ DE TOLEDO'S INITIATION AS A FILIBUSTER, 1811-1813

In the Napoleonic era of crashing empires and national beginnings dazzling figures held the center of attraction. In the background moved as always a host of minor figures. José Álvarez de Toledo y Dubois was one of these. This stormy petrel of the Mexican Revolution was born in Havana on May 14, 1779. His father, Don Luis de Toledo y Liche, was a native of Seville who had taken up his residence in Havana. Don Luis entered the navy in 1758 and rose to positions of responsibility. Commandant of the Arsenal in 1781, *Capitán de Navío* in 1789, and Captain of the Port of Havana in 1811, Toledo's father was a trusted officer of the island.¹ Don José received most of his education in Spain where he studied at the Escuela Naval de Cádiz. He served with distinction in 1806 and 1807, and went to London with British forces in 1808 after experience in the Army of Galicia. A plan which he devised for the rescue of Ferdinand VII was shelved, and the restless *Teniente de Navío* found an outlet for his energies as commander of *La Tigre* under Berkeley.²

PLANS FOR THE ANTILLEAN CONFEDERATION

The first flush of liberal enthusiasm which suffused the members of the loyal Cortes of Cádiz gave rise to plans for an imperial federation of Spain and the colonies. As an initial step in this hastily abandoned scheme, the American colonies were invited to send representatives to the Cortes. José Álva-

¹ Carlos M. Trelles y Govín, "Un Precursor de la Independencia de Cuba: Don José Álvarez de Toledo," *Discursos Leídos en la Recepción Pública del Sr. Carlos M. Trelles y Govín*. . . (Habana, 1926), p. 8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 9. The writer has not yet traced the extent of Toledo's service under Admiral Berkeley. A good study of Toledo is Eric John Bradner's thesis, "José Álvarez de Toledo and the Spanish American Revolution," MS. in Deering Library, Northwestern University. The writer is greatly indebted to Prof. I. J. Cox, whose "Monroe and the Early Mexican Revolutionary Agents," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1911* (Washington, 1913), I, 197-215, was the pioneer study of Toledo.

rez de Toledo was selected to represent Santo Domingo in that body.³ He sat in various sessions of the Cortes from September 24, 1810, to January 11, 1811. Toledo, as well as other Americans, soon perceived that the colonies could not hope for an equal voice in imperial affairs. This conviction caused him to write to the captain general of Santo Domingo on December 10, 1810, denouncing the policy of the Cortes. The letter was intercepted and sent to the Regency which charged that Toledo was engaged in a plot with the English and ordered his imprisonment. With the assistance of the United States consul at Cádiz, Toledo fled from Spain on June 25, 1811, and arrived at Philadelphia in September,⁴ armed with a commission from the American delegation to the Cortes. His mission was to revolutionize the provinces of northern Mexico, organize an army, set up a government, and to make all arrangements necessary to carry out these objects.⁵ In acting upon the doubtful authority granted by this commission, Toledo later came into conflict with José Bernardo Gutiérrez de Lara who was acting under a commission from Mexico.

Toledo's arrival in Philadelphia was correctly interpreted by Don Luis de Onís as presaging more trouble for the unrecognized Spanish mission. For a short time Onís had believed that his path was to be a little less difficult. Don Miguel Cabral de Noroña, a Portuguese native who longed to become

³ Trelles y Govín, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Cox, *op. cit.*, I, 202; Mattie Austin Hatcher, tr. and ed., "Joaquín de Arredondo's Report of the Battle of the Medina, August 18, 1813," *The Quarterly of the Texas Historical Association*, XI, no. 3 (Jan. 1908), p. 227; Lucas Alamán, *Historia de Méjico* (5 vols., Mexico, 1849-1852), III, appendix, p. 4.

⁴ Trelles y Govín, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-13; Cox, *op. cit.*, I, 202; Philadelphia *Aurora*, December 17, 1811; Luis de Onís to Eusebio de Bardaxí y Azara, Philadelphia, September 25, 1811 (No. 180), Archivo Histórico Nacional, Estado, legajo 5554, expediente No. 12 (Library of Congress), hereafter cited as AHN, Estado.

⁵ Copias de los Papeles dirigidos por el traidor Toledo desde la Nueva Orleans á los Cabecillas que componen la Junta de Rebeldes de N. España, enclosed in Toledo to the President and other Representatives of the United States of Mexico, New Orleans, February 10, 1815, Archivo General de Indias, Indiferente General de Nueva Epaña, 136-7-9 (typescript in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, file 1808-1811), hereafter cited as Toledo to the Mexican Congress, AGI, IG. A copy of Toledo's commission is in Onís to Pedro Cevallos, Philadelphia, August 7, 1816 (No. 118), AHN, Estado, leg. 5554, ex. 12.

a propagandist for Spain, had been made tranquil with a tentative promise of a commission to defend the Spanish cause in the press. The "Octavian peace" described by Onís was rudely shattered by Toledo's appearance. The harassed envoy gave Noroña and others the task of counteracting the ex-deputy's activities since there was no way to cause his arrest or departure.⁶

Toledo arrived in the United States with only partly formed plans, and his subsequent conduct indicated that he intended to make the most of whatever opportunities were presented to him for promoting his own interests. His actions would always appear to be in favor of the patriot cause—except for his offer to betray a patriot army—a cause which he always identified with his own welfare. Toledo had, at least in retrospect, an exalted view of his mission. He had fled from a Spain bowed under the yoke of the "most ferocious of tyrants" to help the Americans escape a similar fate.⁷ There is sufficient reason to believe that a small amount of Spanish gold would have turned Toledo away from his noble endeavor.

At first Toledo's intrigues centered around the possibility of revolutionizing the Antilles, a scheme in which he hoped to enlist the support of the United States. With Spanish rule overthrown in the islands, a union might be formed with Mexico and possibly the United States. This plan for an Antillean Confederation was probably proposed in a letter which he wrote on July 9, 1811, to one José Cavallero in Santo Domingo. Cavallero replied that the earthquake on the mainland had weakened the patriot cause in Santo Domingo and that outside help would be needed against the Spaniards; but if Mexico "should succeed in establishing a Government and a liberal system, St^o Domingo will not be the last place in this Hemisphere to enter the confederation."⁸ Whatever his

⁶ Onís to Bardaxí, Philadelphia, September 25, 1811 (No. 180), AHN, Estado, leg. 5554, ex. 12. See also Philip Coolidge Brooks, "Spanish Royalists in the United States, 1809-1821," in A. Curtis Wilgus, ed., *Colonial Hispanic America* (Washington, 1936), p. 567.

⁷ *Justificación de Don José Alvarez de Toledo* . . . , enclosed in Onís to Cevallos, Philadelphia, December 20, 1816 (No. 202), AHN, Estado, leg. 5554, ex. 12.

⁸ J. C. [José Cavallero] to Toledo, St^o. Domingo, September 20, 1811 (Reservado), Spanish Affairs, 1810-1816 (MSS. in Library of Congress).

plans, Toledo employed his facile pen in propaganda for independence.⁹ This activity caused Onís to fear that he would become Spain's chief enemy in America, nor did the Chevalier fail to note that Toledo was in close communication with Monroe. One way of getting rid of the revolutionist would be to lure him on board a warship, since there was no way of causing his arrest.¹⁰

While the Spanish envoy's alarm increased, Toledo made successful efforts to interest Monroe in the proposed Antillean Confederation. In November he assured Monroe that he had information which was very important to the United States. A visit to Washington with expenses paid would result in great good for the United States, Cuba, and New Spain.¹¹ Monroe's curiosity was aroused and he asked Alexander J. Dallas, federal district attorney for eastern Pennsylvania, to investigate. If Toledo's communication should "be of an interesting character" Dallas was "to furnish him with the means of coming to this city."¹² Toledo was told that Dallas had been asked to see him.¹³ At the interview with Dallas, Toledo maintained that the British planned to seize Cuba, Porto Rico, and Santo Domingo, but that the patriots of the islands were willing to form a confederation with the idea of union with the United States. Dallas, after an interview with Onís, concluded that Toledo was "a man of talents and character; but indiscreet in his correspondence. . . ."¹⁴ During the next three weeks Toledo continued his propaganda activities while Dallas was deciding what to do. The *Aurora* carried his letters and manifestoes which were clear and strong even in

* Copies of Toledo's tracts are in Trelles y Govín, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁹ Onís to Bardaxí, Philadelphia, December 5, 1811 (No. 211), AHN, Estado, leg. 5555, ex. 12.

¹¹ Toledo to Monroe, Philadelphia, November 16, 1811 (Confidential), Mexico, Filibustering Expedition Against the Government of Spain, 1811-1816 (MSS. in National Archives), hereafter cited as Mexico, Filibustering.

¹² Monroe to Dallas, Department of State, November 25, 1811, Monroe Papers, IV, f. 1561 (MSS. in Library of Congress). The date appears as November 23 in Domestic Letters, XVI, 38 (MSS. in National Archives).

¹³ Monroe to Toledo, Department of State, November 25, 1811, Monroe Papers, IV, f. 1561; Domestic Letters, XVI, 39.

¹⁴ Dallas to the Secretary of State, [Philadelphia], December 4, 1811, Miscellaneous Letters, August-December 1811 (MSS. in National Archives).

translation. Toledo was an artist with words and the more he wrote the more skillful he became. As a propagandist he appealed to republican sympathies with a liberal use of resounding phrases which showed at least a superficial knowledge of revolutionary philosophy. He was an American, a friend of independence, interested in the fate of Spain and compassionate toward the oppressed brethren of the Peninsula. He would be happy if only he could shed his blood in the Cause.¹⁵ Dallas finally decided that Toledo should see Monroe, and with a gift of fifty dollars for expenses the revolutionist prepared to go to Washington on December 24.¹⁶

When Toledo reached Washington he found that José Bernardo Gutiérrez de Lara had already conferred with the authorities. His own conversations with Monroe were eminently satisfactory: "Monroe seems to have resolved, with Madison's approval, to assist these two men in extending their revolutionary propaganda throughout the West Indies and Mexico."¹⁷ Monroe gave Toledo money for his proposed trip to Cuba and a letter of introduction to William Shaler, a special agent to Mexico who had gone first to Cuba.¹⁸ But Toledo did not go to Cuba. When he returned to Philadelphia he planned to embark on a brigantine which, he learned from a friend in Baltimore, was about ready to sail from New York. However, he suggested to Monroe that his mission would be expedited if he could be taken to Havana on an American man-of-war.¹⁹ The brigantine turned out to be a Spanish ves-

¹⁵ Philadelphia *Aurora*, December 17, 1811. The firm of Bradford and Inskeep published a pamphlet which Toledo prepared (Toledo to the editor of the *Aurora*, Philadelphia, December 1811, enclosed in Onís to Bardaxí, Philadelphia, December 28, 1811, AHN, Estado, leg. 5554, ex. 12). The pamphlet was financed, Onís reported, by "renegade Spaniards sent here by the usurper at whose head is the French Colonel [Bovera?]. . . ." Toledo was advocating a civil war in which the best people would be killed, and the United States might aid the patriot cause (Onís to the Viceroy of New Spain, Philadelphia, December 17, 1811, *ibid.*). The "renegade Spaniards" were Tadeo Ortíz of Guadalajara, Josef María Cauto of Puebla de Los Angeles, and Octavio Obregón of the Provincia y Real de Minas de Santa Fé de Guanajuato.

¹⁶ Dallas to Monroe, [Philadelphia], December 23, 1811, Miscellaneous Letters, August-December, 1811.

¹⁷ Cox, *op. cit.*, I, 203.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 204.

¹⁹ Toledo to Monroe, Philadelphia, January 4, 1812, Mexico, Filibustering.

sel which would carry an agent engaged by Onís.²⁰ Toledo wisely refused to be lured into the trap which Onís may have prepared for him.

Toledo may not have intended to go to Cuba at all. Professor Lockey believed that Monroe was more interested in Toledo's "willingness to serve the United States in the impending contest for territory on the southern frontier, and an agreement of some sort on that head seems to have been reached."²¹ Professor Cox concluded that Toledo's conduct "had much to do in arousing the distrust of American officials. Toledo failed to depart on his mission to Cuba. His later movements were of a disquieting or compromising character until his final reconciliation with his enemies, but he seems to have had no direct relations with our State Department."²² One account, of doubtful authority, states that Toledo had requested the Mexican agent, Gutiérrez, to make him minister and to "prevail on the Govt. to receive him as such, whilst Bernardo should repair to Texas and prosecute the Revolution there."²³ The best interpretation now seems to be a combination of these views. Toledo gave up his idea of going to Cuba to promote revolution in the Antilles and decided to wait for a better chance to use his varied talents. Dallas certainly expected the young disciple of liberty to go to Cuba, and he wrote to Monroe on March 1, 1812, expressing surprise that Toledo was still in Philadelphia. Toledo asked him to inform Monroe that "he has done, and is aiming to do, everything in his power, to comply" with Monroe's expectations. He gave Dallas a communication, dated Cádiz, January 23, 1812, to forward to Monroe. The letter stated that troops numbering three thousand were preparing to sail for the colonies, one thousand of which would go to Florida and win it for the English. Since the governor of Florida was supposed to be sympathetic with the patriot cause, a person of confidence should be sent to have a conference with him. American

²⁰ Toledo to Monroe, Philadelphia, January 7, 1812, Miscellaneous Letters, January-April, 1812.

²¹ "The Florida Intrigues of José Álvarez de Toledo," *The Quarterly of the Florida Historical Society*, XII, 150.

²² Cox, *op. cit.*, I, 207-08.

²³ Charles Adams Gulick and Harriet Smither, eds., *The Papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar* (6 vols., Austin, 1921-1927), V, 393.

troops might then be despatched to the area.²⁴ But this feeler resulted in no employment for Toledo, so he continued to wait for a favorable chance to engage actively in the grand cause.

VILLAINS, TREACHERY, AND INTRIGUE

Don Luis de Onís did what he could to entertain Toledo in the interim. The envoy's proposal of December 5, 1811, to use Noroña to counteract Toledo's activities met at first with a cold reception in Spain. Bardaxí replied that Noroña was a Portuguese in origin and deserved nothing from Spain. Onís was to have nothing to do with him and should not even admit him to his house.²⁵ Subsequent reports from Onís led to a reversal of this attitude. In February the Regency approved the proposal and authorized Onís to pay Noroña a small pension.²⁶ Noroña had been busy before the Regency accepted his services. The *National Intelligencer* published, on November 30, 1811, a portion of a letter received by Toledo from Cádiz in which the Cortes was reported to have looked with favor upon a communication from the *Consulado* of Mexico. This communication pictured the natives of New Spain as "cowards, immoral, obscene, and bad" and that they should be treated "as a Colony of conquered savages." Noroña answered the letter, protesting that it insulted the Spaniards and that Toledo's account was fiction.²⁷ When Toledo wrote a manifesto urging the Americans to rebel, Noroña wrote a pamphlet to impugn it.²⁸

But apparently Noroña was too pacific for Onís's plans. Diego Correa, alias Antonio Garbolan (or Gorbalan), a detective-story villain about forty years old and more than six feet in height, came to the United States in August or September, 1810. The Cádiz Junta was reported to have employed him to assassinate Napoleon, promising a reward in

²⁴ Dallas to Monroe, Philadelphia, March 1 [?], 1812, Miscellaneous Letters, January-April, 1812.

²⁵ Bardaxí to Onís, Cádiz, December 11, 1811, AHN, Estado, leg. 5555, ex. 12.

²⁶ [Bardaxí] to Onís, Cádiz, Feb. 18, 1812, *ibid.*

²⁷ Enclosure in Onís to Bardaxí, Philadelphia, December 18, 1811 (No. 223), AHN, Estado, leg. 5554, ex. 12.

²⁸ Onís to Bardaxí, Philadelphia, February 10, 1812 (Reservada) AHN, Estado, leg. 5555, ex. 12.

case of success and the care of his family should the project fail. Correa threatened to stab or poison anyone who knew his secret. There were several in this classification, and the intended victims swore out a warrant for his arrest. Correa was well equipped to carry out his dire threats. About his person he carried habitually "a short spanish dagger, and also kept pistols, powder and balls . . . , a box containing vitriol and other drugs" and a small vial of poison for himself or his enemies. The erstwhile silversmith of Tenerife, a mulatto of low birth, had been made a lieutenant by the leaders of a successful revolt in the Canary Islands. His funds came from Bardaxí, and he spent his time in traveling from city to city on the Atlantic seaboard. When Toledo published his pamphlet, Correa prepared an annotated edition of the tract, under the name of *Licenciado Verso Machuca*, disputing its contents. Copies were widely distributed, and the potential murderer "cast his eye" on Toledo.²⁹

Correa certainly did have his eye on Toledo. Unable to persuade the former deputy to abandon his revolutionary activity, Correa challenged him to a duel. Onís believed that Toledo would refuse the invitation, but that "that Patriot [Correa] is not of a mind to leave matters in this condition."³⁰ Toledo was well aware of the danger to his life. An informant wrote to him that "The Ambassador of Spain who lives where you are, watches over you, he has instructions, . . . to have you assassinated, as he cannot have you arrested." Upon submitting this information to Dallas, Toledo asked to have Onís placed under a peace bond.³¹

Toledo did not abandon his plan to go to Cuba until late in March or early in April, 1812. An anonymous correspond-

²⁹ Serurier to Monroe, Washington, June 6, 1812, and enclosures, Notes from the French Legation, Vol. 2-3 (MSS. in National Archives). Serurier was interested in the case because of Correa's avowed intention to assassinate Napoleon. The enclosures are depositions taken in Philadelphia in May, 1812. Likewise, Onís employed Segundo Correa, Diego's son, to join Mina's expedition in 1816 for the purpose of assassinating that leader.

³⁰ Onís to Bardaxí, Philadelphia, February 1, 1812 (Reservada), AHN. Estado, leg. 5555, ex. 12.

³¹ Dallas to Monroe, (Philadelphia, March 1[?] 1812), and enclosure, Miscellaneous Letters. January-April, 1812.

ent warned him that precautions had been taken against him in Cuba, that his projects would be discovered, and that it would be better to try to do something for Mexico.³² Toledo took the advice, and the small amount of money which accompanied it, and announced that he would organize a small army and go in person to the frontier.³³ Toledo's principal activities from April to December, 1812, were connected with this project to join Gutiérrez in Texas. He was not without friends in Philadelphia, even though an assassin was on his trail. He lived for a time at the same boarding house which served as a refuge for General Ira Allen, an exile from Vermont.³⁴ Allen helped Toledo by gaining adherents to the plan to go to Texas. Among the persons attracted to the scheme were Nathaniel Coggsell, Samuel Alden, Aaron Mower, a Frenchman named Calivette, Henry Bullard, and William Prentiss.³⁵ This small group of plotters believed that they would receive large loans from an unrevealed source. On July 28, 1812, Toledo informed Gutiérrez that he was about to leave with various resources.³⁶ Before this letter could reach Gutiérrez, the invasion of Texas, so ably promoted by William Shaler, was well started. Magee crossed the Sabine with the main part of the small filibustering army on August 8.³⁷ Governor W. C. C. Claiborne of Louisiana issued a proclamation on August 11 denouncing this rank violation of the territory of a friendly power.³⁸ This belated gesture had practically no effect in deterring the progress of the invasion; but when news of the measure reached Philadelphia, Toledo's intended

³² A—— to Our friend Toledo, Havana, March 1, 1812, Spanish Affairs, 1810-1816.

³³ Toledo to my friend A——, Philadelphia, April 4, 1812, *ibid.*

³⁴ Allen to Monroe, Philadelphia, Nov. 19, 1812, *ibid.*

³⁵ Allen to Toledo, Philadelphia, April 12, 1812, *ibid.* Mower was described by Bullard as "a man of singular versatility of talent, possessing a vast amount of practical knowledge, and at the same time brave, enthusiastic, and enterprising." (*North American Review*, July, 1836, XLIII, 238).

³⁶ The letter is referred to in Toledo to Gutiérrez, Philadelphia, October [7?], 1812, Spanish Affairs, 1810-1816.

³⁷ William Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, August 18, 1812, Special Agents, William Shaler (Photostats in Deering Library, Northwestern University; the MSS. are in the National Archives). Hereafter cited as Shaler Papers.

³⁸ Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Official Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne, 1801-1816* (6 vols., Jackson, 1917), VI, 229-30.

“angels” were discouraged, and the efforts of Allen, Toledo, and Coggs well were insufficient to regain their support. Toledo’s plans were disrupted.³⁹ He informed Gutiérrez that the inclusion of some of Burr’s former associates had alienated public opinion, and he would delay his departure until he was assured of either the approval or indifference of the United States.⁴⁰ Toledo’s weakened support was given another blow when news arrived at Baltimore that Miranda had been forced to make terms with the royalists in Venezuela. There was an unfounded belief that Miranda had betrayed the cause. Coggs well charged Toledo with having been intimate with Miranda, and this circumstance caused him to be suspicious of Toledo’s motives.⁴¹

If the way of the transgressor is hard, that of the destitute filibuster is harder. Toledo’s funds were running low, and the threatening pangs of hunger may have stimulated the latent loyalty to Spain which slumbered in Toledo’s breast. On October 5, 1812, he called on Onís and revealed that he had been in direct communication with the United States government to foment revolution in the Americas. He longed to return to the bosom of his fatherland as an erring son returns to a forgiving father; but first he must give proof of his repentance. He had connived with the United States and the insurgents to take command of a body of 2000 men recruited in Louisiana. This force would join with insurgents in Mexico under Toledo’s command. Under an agreement that could be made with Spanish loyalist commanders in Texas, Toledo would deliver his army, and the 12,000 guns and other equipment furnished by the United States, into their hands. The betrayal could be effected if Onís would advance the necessary funds. But Onís had no money, and all that he could do would be to despatch a messenger to a frontier post to facilitate the execution of Toledo’s plan. The small sum which Onís could

³⁹ Ira Allen to Monroe, Philadelphia, November 19, 1812, Spanish Affairs, 1810-1816; James Benjamin Wilbur, *Ira Allen Founder of Vermont, 1751-1814* (2 vols., Boston, 1928), II, 441.

⁴⁰ Toledo to Gutiérrez, Philadelphia, October —, 1812, Spanish Affairs, 1810-1816.

⁴¹ Coggs well to Gutiérrez and Magee, Pittsburgh, December 29, 1812, enclosure in Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, June 12, 1812, Shaler Papers.

offer held no attraction for the supposedly repentant Toledo. It would not permit him to carry out his plan, so he preferred "to desist from his trip to the frontiers, not wishing to appear at the head of an army against his fatherland." Toledo took his leave, promising to return to give his final decision. He did not do so, and Onís feared that he was merely trying to obtain money from him.⁴² It is, of course, entirely possible that Toledo was attempting to deceive Onís and had no intention of going through with the scheme. However, on June 25, 1816, Toledo visited Father Antonio de Sedella—a secret agent for Spain—in New Orleans and started along the road toward final reconciliation with Ferdinand VII,⁴³ a monarch whom he had previously called a "mortal imbecile." His activities up to that time certainly were not conducive to the success of the royalist cause. The most charitable view which may be taken of his offer to Onís is that he was making a desperate move to obtain funds in order to carry out his plan to lead the revolution in Texas. The opposite view brands him as a double-dealing traitor. No middle position is tenable under the circumstances.⁴⁴ No matter what Toledo's intentions may have been, Monroe was informed on November 10 that he was "an agent and spy of the Spanish government. . . ." ⁴⁵ This accusation, probably coming from Nathaniel

⁴² Onís to Ygnacio de la Pezuela, Philadelphia, October 7, 1812 (No. 135), AHN, Estado, leg. 5554, ex. 12. While on this visit Toledo seems to have obtained information to the effect that Spain, in accordance with advice from the British Foreign Office, would not declare war against the United States (Wm. Duncan to James Madison, Superintendent's Office, U. S. Arsenal [Philadelphia], Oct. 8, 1812, Miscellaneous Letters, October-December, 1812). This information is verified by correspondence in AHN, Estado, leg. 5556, ex. 1, *passim*.

⁴³ Sedella to Onís, New Orleans, July 6, 1816, AHN, Estado, leg. 5554, ex. 12.

⁴⁴ There is no reason to suppose that Onís was not telling the truth about Toledo's visit. Money and the king's pardon were two potent weapons for destroying expeditions against the Spanish provinces. In November, 1815, Pierre Laffite succumbed to such offers from the reconciled Juan Mariano Picornell and Father Sedella. Two years later Onís asserted that he could have bribed Generals Charles and Henri Lallemand to give up their project. These instances prove nothing so far as Toledo is concerned except that they reveal one of the greatest weaknesses of the filibusters: they were sometimes for sale.

⁴⁵ Eric John Bradner, "José Álvarez de Toledo and the Spanish American Revolution," unpublished M. A. thesis, Deering Library, Northwestern University.

Coggswell, was somewhat balanced by Ira Allen's assurance that full confidence could be placed in Toledo.⁴⁶

Following his conference with Onís, Toledo returned to his plans to go to Texas to wrest the leadership of the Gutiérrez-Magee expedition from those two adventurers. Accompanied by a small group of companions, Toledo

"embarked at Pittsburgh for Natchez in the month of December, on board a small flat-boat, which had been constructed for that purpose. Nothing can be conceived more heterogeneous than this little party," wrote Henry A. Bullard, a member of the group. "There were Toledo, and his two aids, the one an American, and the other a Frenchman. Don Juan Picornel [Juan Mariano Picornell] was an old Spaniard, a native of Majorca, who had been buried in the dungeons of the Inquisition; whose ankles had been rendered callous by chains, with which he had been loaded as the conspicuous enemy of Godoy; who had been engaged in the first revolution in Caraccas, and had escaped from the earthquake and the counter revolution; wrinkled with age, and yet full of zeal in the cause. Another of the party was a Frenchman from Marseilles, by the name of Colonie. He boasted of having been a *chef de brigade* in the republican armies of France; but, such was his ardor in the cause, that he accepted the humble rank of *chef de cuisine* in the service of Toledo. These, together with an honest, intrepid, and faithful Gallican boy, [and Aaron Mower] and an American shoemerchant, who had advanced some funds for the enterprise, and who accompanied the general by way of collateral security, formed the *personnel* of the outfit. The *materiel* consisted of provisions, a few arms, baggage, and some books [and a printing press and type].⁴⁷

According to Onís, Toledo had departed "with glowing promises and recommendations from the agents of this Government. . . ." He stated that Toledo carried maps, plans, pamphlets, a printing press, and that the plotters had gone to New Orleans. They would fortify Tampico, using artillery and gunboats from American ports, in order to have a maritime contact with the United States. The French in New Orleans and elsewhere were said to be coöperating, as were adventurers attracted by the riches of Mexican mines. Onís con-

⁴⁶ Allen to Monroe, Philadelphia, November 19, 1812, Spanish Affairs, 1810-1816.

⁴⁷ [Henry A. Bullard] in the *North American Review*, XLIII, 238.

sidered the project to be chimerical and foolish because of the small resources of the rebels and their lack of harmony.⁴⁸ These rumors were amplified by the report that Toledo's party had arrived at Natchez in the middle of March with 4,000 guns.⁴⁹

As the summer of 1813 gave way to autumn, Onís conceived a modified interpretation of the intrigue engineered by Toledo. He was positive that French agents were mixed up in the project. Two adventurers, Ducoudray Holstein and Bartolomé Lafon, arrived at Rapides about June 14,⁵⁰ and Onís represented them as engaged with Toledo in a plan to overthrow Gutiérrez.⁵¹ General Jean Joseph Amable Humbert, a former Napoleonic officer, left Philadelphia for New Orleans about August 17, accompanied by a former naval captain named Achard and several other French and Spanish officers. This event caused Onís to believe that France and the United States were jointly fomenting the revolution in Mexico. Humbert was expected to direct operations of the insurgents in Texas under the nominal leadership of Toledo, and Gutiérrez would be displaced "because of his ignorance and cruelty." Again treachery appeared among the self-constituted friends of the Mexican cause. Captain Achard offered to deliver the insurgent army to royalist generals. Onís praised the suggestion and advised the would-be traitor to communicate with General Joaquín de Arredondo or Nemesio Salcedo. A generous reward would result if the plan succeeded. But the minister had no more faith in Achard than in Toledo and

⁴⁸ Onís to the Captain General, Philadelphia, March 4, 1813, Archivo General de Indias, Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, leg. 1837, hereafter cited as AGI, PC; Onís to the viceroy, Philadelphia, March 4, 1813, Archivo General y Público de la Nación, Historia, Operaciones de Guerra, Notas Diplomáticas, III, ff. 109-10, hereafter cited as AGN, ND (typescripts in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library). Onís to Pedro Labrador, Philadelphia, March 4, 1813 (No. 29), AHN, Estado, leg. 5554, ex. 12.

⁴⁹ Diego Morphy to the Viceroy, New Orleans, May 8, 1813, AGN, ND, III, f. 214. Morphy, the Spanish consul, doubted the story about the guns. Toledo's flatboat certainly carried no such cargo.

⁵⁰ Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, June 12, 1812 (No. 81), postscript dated June 14, Shaler Papers.

⁵¹ Onís to the Captain General, Philadelphia, August 6, 1813, AGI, PC, leg. 1837.

Picornell, all three of whom were capable of any treachery.⁵² If Humbert had planned to coöperate with Toledo, the battle of the Medina on August 18, 1813, changed the situation radically. Humbert, Toledo, and John Hamilton Robinson were engaged in rival schemes in 1814.

THE DOWNFALL OF GUTIÉRREZ

When Toledo arrived at Natchitoches he learned that the Gutiérrez-Magee expedition had been eminently successful. Gutiérrez arrived in New Orleans on March 23, 1812⁵³ to join his fortunes with Monroe's agent William Shaler. The two men went on to Natchitoches together. Immediately after their arrival on April 28, 1812,⁵⁴ the expedition began to take shape. With the assistance of prominent border figures, including Augustus W. Magee, Reuben Ross, Samuel Kemper, Samuel Davenport, and Henry Perry, recruits and supplies were assembled in June and July. The leadership of the expedition was nominally assigned to Gutiérrez, but the real commander was "Colonel" Magee.⁵⁵ Claiborne's orders to the civil officers at Natchitoches were ineffective, and the plotters met with practically no opposition from American authorities on the frontier. The invading "patriot" army crossed the Sabine on August 8, after skirmishing parties had driven back the Spanish outposts. Nacogdoches was taken on August 12, and with a force of about 700 men Magee marched toward La Bahía which was captured easily on November 7. Spanish troops laid siege to the village until February 19, 1813. Repeated defeats caused the Spaniards to retreat to San Antonio. The invaders, commanded by Samuel Kemper who replaced the deceased Magee, were content to rest on their laurels for a month. No opposition was offered by the Spaniards until the "patriots" were within a few miles of San

⁵² Onís to the Captain General, Philadelphia, August 20, 1813, *ibid.* For more about Jean François Achard, see Onís to Bardaxí y Azara, Philadelphia, September 19, 1811 (No. 171), AHN, Estado, leg. 5554, ex. 14.

⁵³ Elizabeth H. West, ed., "Diary of José Bernardo Gutiérrez de Lara, 1811-1812," *American Historical Review*, XXXIV, 281ff.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 291; Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, May 2, 1812, Shaler Papers.

⁵⁵ Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, August 18, 1812, *ibid.*

Antonio, and then the former were soundly beaten at the battle of Rosillo on March 29. San Antonio was formally surrendered on April 2, and four days later a provisional government was organized for Texas.⁵⁶

Reports from San Antonio aroused Shaler's antagonism toward Gutiérrez. The barbarous execution of fourteen Spanish officers, ordered by Gutiérrez, left Shaler without words to express his horror, and he considered the patriot government as "an absurd revolutionary farce. . . ."⁵⁷ Under these conditions it is not surprising to find Shaler willing to throw his support to the suave Toledo.

Nathaniel Coggsell was not through with Toledo when the two parted company in Pennsylvania. If fame and honor were to be won in Texas, Coggsell determined to prevent his former companion from enjoying the fruits of revolution. He communicated with Gutiérrez and Magee, charging Toledo with being an agent of Spain and in correspondence with the Marquis of Villa Franca and a member of the Regency. Toledo's object, he asserted, was to eliminate Gutiérrez and Magee and then to assume command for the purpose of destroying the expedition. In fact, Toledo had told General Allen that Gutiérrez would be easy to handle and only Magee would cause trouble. Perhaps Coggsell's estimate of Toledo was more accurate than he knew. Toledo was pictured as

vain, ambitious, and a great intriguer. His talents are specious and shewy, but totally destitute of that solidity, wholeness and judgment necessary to form a great character. He is, I think, the most passionate man I ever saw, and over which he has not the least control.⁵⁸

Picornell and La Tour, who accompanied Toledo, were considered equally untrustworthy. Coggsell's final warning was strangely prophetic:

Toledo, Picornell, and La Tour, are one and the same—and rely upon it, and I am willing to put my life on the issue, that if you allow either

⁵⁶ Details of these activities are described in the writer's "New Spain and the Filibusters, 1812-1821," MSS. in Deering Library, Northwestern University.

⁵⁷ Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, May 14, 1813, Shaler Papers.

⁵⁸ Coggsell to Generals Bernardo Gutiérrez and Magee, Pittsburgh, December 29, 1812, enclosure in Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, June 12, 1813 (No. 81), Shaler Papers.

of them to set a foot into the territory over which you preside, or to have the least connection whatever, even as common soldiers, with your expedition, you will in the end, rue it in tears of blood.⁵⁹

Gutiérrez was grateful for the information and promised to be on his guard. He was entirely convinced of Toledo's treachery. Cogswell's request that he be appointed an agent of the filibuster was not granted, but hope was held out that such an arrangement might be made later.⁶⁰ With Gutiérrez in so unfavorable a frame of mind, Toledo was certain to have difficulties in carrying out his intention to go to Texas. General John Adair also entertained ambitions to become a filibuster, and regarded Toledo as an interloper.

Adair was considered as the possible commander of the expedition when it was first organized, but he declined the honor. Now that success was apparently assured, he appeared at Rapides, the modern Alexandria, on March 15, 1813. There was reason to believe that he intended to go to Texas to assume command, and Shaler believed that an important change would take place in the expedition if he did so.⁶¹ But the General could not make up his mind, if Shaler was correct, and returned to Natchez to recruit men from Tennessee.⁶² He was there shortly before Toledo arrived from Pittsburgh about the middle of March, sporting a uniform and calling himself a general.⁶³ General Adair saw in Toledo's arrival a blow at his own plans, so he attempted to determine the nature of Toledo's intentions. A meeting was suggested to take place at some neutral point, but Toledo replied that he could be seen at his lodgings and the interview failed to materialize.⁶⁴ Toledo left Natchez on March 30 to go to Natchitoches, but Adair was not through. Letters had been sent ahead to Rapides, and when Toledo arrived there he found the people inclined to regard him as a French agent. After a futile at-

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* This La Tour, or Calivette, must not be confused with Arsene La-carrière LaTour, the map-maker and engineer of New Orleans who was intimate with the brothers Lafitte.

⁶⁰ Gutiérrez to Cogswell, San Antonio, April 11, 1813, Shaler Papers.

⁶¹ Shaler to Monroe, Fort Claiborne, March 20, 1813, *ibid.*

⁶² Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, April 3, 1813, *ibid.*

⁶³ Morphy to the Viceroy, New Orleans, May 8, 1813, AGN, ND, III, f. 214.

⁶⁴ Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, April 18, 1813 (No. 77), Shaler Papers.

tempt to arrest him, Toledo arrived at Natchitoches on April 4⁶⁶ and found that Shaler was favorably disposed toward him.⁶⁶ He lost no time in taking advantage of his opportunity, and sent Picornell on to San Antonio while arrangements were made for his own appearance at Nacogdoches. Shaler believed that the revolution would progress rapidly with Toledo in command,⁶⁷ but Gutiérrez had other ideas. He had received Cogswell's letter of warning, and when Picornell arrived in San Antonio on April 14 he met with a brusque reception. Toledo's record as a member of the Cortes and an officer under the Spanish government aroused the apprehensions of the people, according to Gutiérrez. His expenditures in behalf of the revolution would be assumed by the patriot government in Texas, and Toledo was advised to return at once to Natchitoches or Natchez.⁶⁸ The time was not ripe for his appearance in Texas, so the unwanted general agreed to retire in the interests of harmony and the well-being of his "beloved country."⁶⁹ Although he had ingratiated himself with the people of Nacogdoches sufficiently to raise a small force of volunteers who suggested that he defy Gutiérrez, Toledo was willing to wait.⁷⁰ He made no objection when Lieutenant Nortolan (Dortolan?) arrived from San Antonio to take charge of Nacogdoches.⁷¹

Shaler now thought the time had come for him to take a more active part in affairs. He felt that his presence in San

⁶⁶ Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, April 2, 1813, postscript of April 4, *ibid.*

⁶⁶ Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, April 18, 1813 (No. 77), *ibid.* Toledo had a letter of introduction to John Hamilton Robinson who had just returned from his mission to the Internal Provinces.

⁶⁷ Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, April 18, 1813 (No. 77), Shaler Papers. Toledo arrived in Nacogdoches on April 26. Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, May 2, 1813, *ibid.*

⁶⁸ Gutiérrez to Toledo (San Antonio, April 17, 1813), Shaler Papers.

⁶⁸ Toledo to Gutiérrez, Nacogdoches, April 26, 1813, *ibid.*

⁷⁰ Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, June 12, 1813, *ibid.* Morphy's correspondent at Natchitoches said that Toledo was not well received at Nacogdoches. Morphy to the Viceroy, New Orleans, May 21, 1813, AGN, ND, III, ff. 215-16.

⁷¹ Toledo to his friend Mr. S[haler], Nacogdoches, May 6, 1813 (Reservada), enclosure in Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, June 12, 1813, Shaler Papers. Toledo planned to leave Nacogdoches on May 6 (*ibid.*), but he was still there on May 10 (Morphy to the Captain-General, New Orleans, May 21, 1813, AGI, PC, leg. 1836).

Antonio was demanded in the interests of humanity and that Toledo should be in charge of the expedition in Texas. So, promising to be prudent and hoping for Monroe's approval,⁷² he proceeded to Nacogdoches where he arrived on May 20.⁷³ Disconcerting discoveries awaited him. When John Hamilton Robinson returned to Washington from the frontier, he informed Monroe that Gutiérrez had asked for assistance from France through the French consul in New Orleans. The consul, according to Robinson, offered 3,000,000 francs, 15,000 stand of arms, officers to drill the army, and supplies which would be transported in small craft to Matagorda.⁷⁴ Shaler may have been told the story when Robinson was in Natchitoches after his return from New Spain; but he received confirmation of French dealings with Gutiérrez when he was in Nacogdoches. An agent arrived there from San Antonio on May 25, "and surely so miserable a wretch was never before sent on a public mission. . . ." The "wretch" bore despatches for one Pierre Girard in New Orleans and sought Shaler's counsel. He was told that such a mission bordered on high treason, and the poor envoy "departed the next day in very great terror." The plan was apparently to raise a force of six hundred Frenchmen in Santo Domingo and New Orleans and enter Texas by way of Matagorda. The object of the scheme, backed by Louis Massicott, then acting as secretary to Gutiérrez, was to make Texas an asylum for French adventurers. This intrigue caused Shaler to warn the Americans and to inform Monroe that Gutiérrez would not remain in command much longer.⁷⁵ The charges made by Gutiérrez, who relied on Coggsell for his information, also demanded attention. Depositions from Bullard, Alden, and Mower, who were with Toledo at Nacogdoches, convinced Shaler that there was

⁷² Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, May 7, 1813, Shaler Papers.

⁷³ Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, June 12, 1813, *ibid.*

⁷⁴ Robinson to Monroe, Washington City, July 26, 1813, Mexico, Filibustering. Robinson obtained his information from Doctor Prades, Condorcet's son-in-law, from a captain in the filibustering army, and from Louis Toussard, the French consul in New Orleans. The usual discount should be allowed.

⁷⁵ Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, June 12, 1813 (No. 81), Shaler Papers. Shaler wrote to Reuben Ross in San Antonio to disclose the plot (Shaler to Ross, June 9, 1813, *ibid.*).

no truth in Coggsell's accusations and that Toledo would be fully vindicated.⁷⁶

The attack against Gutiérrez, planned by Shaler and Toledo, proceeded along three fronts. Coggsell's charges were made to appear ridiculous, publication of a newspaper was begun, and agents were sent to San Antonio to win the support of the Americans. Coggsell was disposed of on June 29 at a meeting between Fort Claiborne and the Sabine. Shaler and Toledo, accompanied by a small group of friends, met Coggsell and his party to consider the charges against Toledo. Coggsell was so discredited as a result of the conference that his followers deserted to Toledo.⁷⁷

Before Coggsell's charges were finally exposed to Shaler's satisfaction, Aaron Mower printed the first issue of the *Gaceta de Texas*, a projected weekly newspaper in Spanish and English.⁷⁸ Toledo wanted to proceed at once to San Antonio, but Shaler restrained him in order to allow time for the newspaper propaganda to take effect and for Americans at San Antonio to prepare a demand for his appearance. Shaler justified his action by the state of affairs in San Antonio:

The most deplorable system of terror, rapine, and misrule has been followed: arbitrary imprisonments, & confiscations, constantly succeed each other; all the resources of the country have been pillaged, and squandered away without any public benefit; and suspicion and discontent are general and at their height [*sic*]. It is estimated that more than 1200 persons have deserted since the reduction of San Antonio, and they are daily disappearing. The republican force at

⁷⁶ Shaler to Gutiérrez, Nacogdoches, May 28, 1813, enclosure in Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, June 12, 1813 (No. 81), *ibid.*

⁷⁷ Shaler to Monroe, Fort Claiborne, July 10, 1813 (No. 83), *ibid.*; *New-England Palladium* (Boston), August 27, 1813; *National Intelligencer* (Washington), September 4, 1813. Coggsell made some futile efforts to combine with Adair, but died at Rapides about August 1 (Shaler to Monroe, Fort Claiborne, August 7, 1813, Shaler Papers).

⁷⁸ Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, June 12, 1813, Shaler Papers; Onís to the Captain General, Philadelphia, August 6, 1813, AGI, PC, leg. 1837. Only one issue of this paper appeared, that of May 25, 1813. See also Kathryn Garrett, "The First Newspaper of Texas," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XL (1937), 200-15.

present consists of about 400 americans and 800 mexicans but in about 500 of the latter little confidence is placed.⁷⁹

The approach of Ignacio Elizondo to San Antonio with the force which Henry Perry subsequently defeated on the Alazán on June 20 caused confusion and fear among the troops of the State of Texas. Gutiérrez played anything but the rôle of a hero, and after Elizondo's defeat the Americans sent a special messenger to Shaler urging him to come on. They promised to receive Toledo or any other person Shaler might recommend as commander. Shaler's response was interesting, especially in view of the fact that he was still an agent of the United States:

As their situation is really desperate from the cause avowed to them, I determined to recommend Genl. Toledo directly to the american chiefs and volunteers as their commander, I have pledged my word for his honor and integrity, and he left here the 3^d instant.⁸⁰

Shaler, too, was ready to leave within twenty-four hours, but he wanted to be certain that there was no danger of a retreat.⁸¹

Toledo left for Nacogdoches before he learned of the latest events at San Antonio. Henry A. Bullard, Joseph B. Wilkinson, and their companions were sent to San Antonio early in June to work for Toledo. They went first to La Bahía where they learned of Elizondo's defeat. Gutiérrez ordered them to remain there to protect that post, but Bullard disobeyed because of his "duty" to Toledo. The disobedience was not serious, for on the way a messenger met them with the request from Gutiérrez that Bullard proceed to become his secretary, replacing Massicott who was killed in the battle with Elizondo. Bullard was received with favor at first; but when he put in a word for Toledo, Gutiérrez wanted to know if he was a Frenchman and Toledo's partisan—and that was the end of

⁷⁹ Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, June 12, 1813 (No. 81), Shaler Papers.

⁸⁰ Shaler to Monroe, Fort Claiborne, July 10, 1813 (No. 83), *ibid.* Shaler wrote to Samuel D. Forsythe, one of the American officers, to recommend Toledo (Forsythe to Shaler, San Fernando, July 17, 1813, enclosure in Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, August 7, 1813, *ibid.*).

⁸¹ Shaler to Monroe, Fort Claiborne, July 10, 1813 (No. 83), *ibid.*

Bullard as the Secretary of the State of Texas. The ousted secretary lost no time in carrying out the purpose of his mission. He induced the American officers to sign a petition asking for Toledo, and the governing *junta* met to consider the matter. Bullard and Wilkinson were the main actors in the final stages of the intrigue against Gutiérrez. They defended Toledo before the *junta* at the meeting of June 27, and when that body wavered, Wilkinson secured the unqualified support of Henry Perry and Colonel Miguel Menchaca by showing that Shaler favored Toledo. A second meeting of the *junta* on June 28, and Perry's threat to leave with all of the Americans, resulted in the agreement to send for Toledo under certain conditions insisted on by Gutiérrez. Captain Charles Slocum, one of the leading American officers, was sent to Nacogdoches to bring the new commander,⁸² while Shaler was urged to come with Picornell who would have revenge for the inconsiderate manner in which Gutiérrez treated him in March. The situation was represented as being desperate. While the army and supplies were diminishing, Gutiérrez spent his whole time "in lolling on his sofa and catching flies. He does not know the number of his forces nor in fact any part of the business." Only Shaler's immediate action could save the army from disaster.⁸³

When Slocum arrived at Nacogdoches on July 10 with a copy of the conditions imposed by the *junta*,⁸⁴ Toledo sent him on to Natchitoches with a letter asking Shaler's advice.⁸⁵ He was told to go on and did so with an escort of more than fifty

⁸² Bullard to Shaler, San Antonio, June 27, 1813, and Wilkinson to Shaler, San Fernando de Bexar, June 27, 1813, enclosures in Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, July 14, 1813 (No. 84), Shaler Papers.

⁸³ Bullard to Shaler, San Antonio, June 27, 1813, *ibid.*

⁸⁴ These conditions were: Toledo was to be second in command; freedom of conscience was not to be granted; no schools, or instruction, in favor of Freemasonry were to be allowed; republican partisans were to be respected in their property; no more than 1000 soldiers might be brought in, and they must equip themselves and would receive \$30 a month; the soldiers must retire to the United States after independence was won and would be accepted as citizens only on condition of proving their loyalty and usefulness to the country (enclosure in Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, July 14, 1813, No. 84, Shaler Papers).

⁸⁵ Toledo to Shaler, Nacogdoches, July 10, 1813, enclosure in Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, July 14, 1813, *ibid.*

armed men,⁸⁶ arriving at San Antonio on August 4 to receive command of the army.⁸⁷ Shaler finally carried out his intention to start for San Antonio and got as far as Nacogdoches where he received a letter from Monroe, dated June 5, which caused him to return at once to Fort Claiborne. Monroe must have told Shaler that he was going too far, and his reply is enlightening:

I regret exceedingly having taken any step that does not meet the approbation of the President, as it has ever been my endeavor to conform strictly to the spirit of my instructions. My object has been to keep a vigilant eye on what was passing, and I have never failed to communicate any thing in its fullest extent. The part I took respecting Toledo was entirely personal, his character was attacked and I defended it on its own intrinsic merits: and also against aman [*sic*] who had prostituted the name of the government from Pittsburgh to this place by declaring in every manner, that he was leading above 1500 men into Mexico with the approbation of the american govt. . . .

The first adventurers in this expedition assembled on the desolate banks of the Sabine. Since that time there has never been within the territory of the United States the least appearance of armament, or military preparation, the volunteers went out either singly, or in small bands, usually armed as hunters, and what few supplies have been procured here have been furnished in the common way of trade.⁸⁸

The administration must have been satisfied with Shaler's conduct, for we find him later with the commission sent to negotiate the treaty with England. Perhaps his greatest stroke of good fortune was the delay which he suffered at Nacogdoches while on his way to San Antonio. Within two weeks the patriot army was routed and its remnants were straggling back to the United States.

DEFEAT AT THE BATTLE OF THE MEDINA

General Toledo had little time to prepare the army for defence against the advancing forces of Joaquín de Arredondo.

⁸⁶ Shaler to Monroe, Fort Claiborne, Aug. 7, 1813, *ibid.*

⁸⁷ Copias de los Papeles dirigidos por el traidor Toledo . . . , AGI, IG, 136-7-9, ff. 3-4.

⁸⁸ Shaler to Monroe, Fort Claiborne, August 7, 1813, Shaler Papers. It may be that Monroe did not want complications in Texas to interfere with a possible Russian mediation. The United States had accepted the offer of mediation on March 11, 1813 (*Columbian Centinel*, Boston, Aug. 4, 1813).

On the same day that he took command, August 4, news arrived from La Bahía that Arredondo's army of 1600 men had crossed the Nueces and camped on the Laredo road about thirty-five leagues from San Antonio. There he would be joined by more than twice that number under Elizondo. Toledo prepared to march at once to prevent the union of the royalist armies. Colonel Miguel Menchaca, who held his commission from Gutiérrez, although he had been a party to the plot to expel that leader, endeavored to prevent the army from moving. Toledo overcame the intrigue and ordered Perry to follow with his two regiments of about 450 men each. Joseph B. Wilkinson was sent back to find out why Perry did not comply with Toledo's orders and was told that the American was ill. The exasperated general returned to San Antonio and found Menchaca still active against him. Opposition was finally overcome by various means, including a dance for the officers, and on August 6 a second attempt was made to begin the march. Again the effort failed and Toledo called the advance guard back to San Antonio.⁸⁹

After these annoying delays, the army finally left San Antonio on August 15, too late to prevent the union of the royalist forces.⁹⁰ Two days later the opposing armies were about nine miles apart, and early in the morning of August 18 the patriot army took an advantageous position.⁹¹ The accounts of what followed are so much at variance that it is almost impossible to reconstruct the action with any assurance of accuracy. There is little doubt that Arredondo's strategy was largely responsible for the outcome. He sent Elizondo ahead with an advance force to engage the enemy and then retreat, while the main army remained concealed.⁹² The plan worked, but it was not Toledo's fault. The filibusters' untried com-

⁸⁹ "Account of an eye witness of the operations since the arrival of General Toledo to San Antonio . . .," in the *Lexington Reporter*, enclosure in Toledo to the Mexican Congress, New Orleans, February 10, 1815, AGI, IG, 136-7-9, f. 4.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Copias de los Papeles dirigidos por el traidor Toledo . . ., enclosure no. 1 in Toledo to the Mexican Congress, New Orleans, February 10, 1815, AGI, IG, 136-7-9, ff. 8-9.

⁹² Hatcher, *loc. cit.*, XI, 223-24; Henry Stuart Foote, *Texas and the Texans* . . . (2 vols. Philadelphia, 1841), I, 192.

mander wisely ordered a retreat back to the river,⁹³ but Kemper and Menchaca refused to obey and the advance continued until the main body of the enemy was encountered.⁹⁴ Arredondo's men stood their ground surprisingly well; but they were on the point of retreating when Colonel Musquiz deserted from the patriots and reported that they, too, were on the point of leaving the field. Arredondo rallied his men and the patriots soon fled in complete confusion.⁹⁵ Arredondo was unable to follow his advantage immediately. His artillery was silenced or captured, a large number of his men were killed or wounded, and many more were scattered at a discreet distance from the scene of battle. Altogether he was able to rally not more than five hundred of his troops to pursue the escaping foe, and several days were required to assemble that many.⁹⁶

Refugees from the battle of the Medina soon began to

⁹³ Copias de los Papeles dirigidos por el traidor Toledo . . . , enclosure no. 1 in Toledo to the Mexican Congress, New Orleans, Feb. 10, 1815, AGI, IG, 136-7-9, f. 9.

⁹⁴ "The Battle of Medina—Taken from Capt. Gaines, on the Sabine, in 1835—," *Lamar Papers*, I, 283; Toledo to the Mexican Congress, New Orleans, February 10, 1815, AGI, IG, 136-7-9, f. 9; *Philadelphia Weekly Aurora*, October 12, 1813, from the *Red River Herald*—Extra, "Extract of a letter from a gentleman of the first respectability dated Natchitoches, Sept. 4th."

⁹⁵ Hatcher, *op. cit.*, XI, 225; Arredondo to Calleja, San Antonio de Bexar, September 13, 1813, AGN, Arredondo, IV, ff. 179-93. Two other accounts of the battle are [H. A. Bullard] in the *North American Review*, XLIII, 241-42, and Antonio Menchaca, *Memoirs* (San Antonio, 1937), pp. 16-17.

⁹⁶ H. M. Brackenridge to Monroe, Baton Rouge, October 30, 1813, Miscellaneous Letters, October-December, 1813. Brackenridge talked with several of the refugees. The usual discrepancies are found in reports as to the size of each army. Toledo asserted that Arredondo had 3,400 men, but Arredondo reported his army as numbering 1,830. Wilkinson was positive that the patriots had no more than 1200 men including Indians (Report of Joseph B. Wilkinson on the Battle of Medina, enclosure in Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, September 5, 1813, Shaler Papers). Arredondo estimated the enemy army at 3,200 (Arredondo to Calleja, San Fernando de Bexar, September 13, 1813, AGN, Arredondo, IV f. 186). In each case the smaller number is more accurate. In order to magnify his own accomplishments, Arredondo praised the patriot army as being "well-armed throughout, full of pride, well disciplined, and versed in military tactics." Yet this "superb" force, which Arredondo reported as nearly double that of his own army, killed only 55 and wounded 178 royalists (Hatcher, *op. cit.*, XI, 234). Arredondo said the patriots lost about 1000 men, mainly Americans (Arredondo to Calleja, San Fernando de Bexar, September 13, 1813, AGN, Arredondo, IV, f. 185). Arredondo was badly mistaken, to put it charitably.

arrive in Louisiana. Joseph B. Wilkinson was in Natchitoches on September 4 and confirmed rumors of the disaster. Toledo intended to make a stand at Nacogdoches, and Wilkinson made efforts to collect ammunition. Shaler believed further resistance was impossible at that time.⁹⁷ Toledo, Kemper, and many others arrived at Natchitoches on September 7 and were followed by about three hundred men, women, and children with their livestock and household goods. Another six hundred were reported as having taken refuge at Bayou Pierre, Opelousas, and Attakapas where Shaler believed they would not suffer.⁹⁸ The Lipans, with about five hundred warriors, moved toward the Sabine for protection and caused Claiborne considerable alarm. Altogether, more than 1200 refugees crossed the Sabine to escape the royalists.⁹⁹

Colonel Elizondo, sent to pursue the fugitives,¹⁰⁰ was peculiarly lenient toward the Americans who fell into his hands. More than fifty Americans were captured, but Elizondo gave them horses, a rifle for every five men, and passports back to the United States. He was bitter in his denunciation of Gutiérrez, but was glad that Toledo escaped. Apparently the most severe punishment which his American captives suffered was a reprimand and a warning not to do it again.¹⁰¹ Elizondo could have captured Toledo, but instead he sent nine pardoned Anglo-Americans to Nacogdoches to apprehend their leader.¹⁰² The result was to be expected. Not until September 5 did Elizondo himself start for Nacogdoches, but by that time Toledo had left. Shaler believed that the Spaniards would destroy Nacogdoches and Trinidad "so as to leave a vast

⁹⁷ Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, September 5, 1813, Shaler Papers.

⁹⁸ Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, September 19, 1813 (No. 88), *ibid.*

⁹⁹ Claiborne to L. B. Macarty, Natchitoches, October 16, 1813, Rowland, *Official Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne, 1801-1816*, VI, 273-74.

¹⁰⁰ Arredondo to Calleja, San Fernando de Bexar, September 13, 1813, AGN, Arredondo, IV, f. 187.

¹⁰¹ Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, September 19, 1813 (No. 88), Shaler Papers. A letter from Alexandria, La., September 24, 1813, stated that Elizondo "intimated that an expedition under the patronage of government, would have his co-operation." (*National Intelligencer*, Washington, October 23, 1813).

¹⁰² Elizondo to Arredondo, Campamento Español en el Puesto de Trinidad, September 2, 1813, AGN, Arredondo, IV, ff. 215-17.

desert between our frontier and their settlement . . . ,"¹⁰³ but Elizondo did not go to Nacogdoches and many of the refugees returned to their homes.¹⁰⁴ By September 12 he had executed seventy-one prisoners but was himself assassinated by one of his officers while returning to San Antonio.¹⁰⁵ Arredondo recommended that a large detachment be stationed at Nacogdoches to prevent future invasions of Texas,¹⁰⁶ but for the time being at least there was nothing more to be feared from Toledo. The viceroy of New Spain had reason to be well pleased with Arredondo's success, and perhaps there was a grim smile on his lips as he wrote to Don Luis de Onís:

the greater number of those who perished in this battle [Medina] and of its results were Anglo-Americans. [Being] convinced that the administration of those States has not aided the revolution of Texas and that its subjects who were found there were none other than offending vagabonds, I hope that if Your Excellency finds it convenient, you will inform that Government that the vagabonds who attempted to compromise it are punished, according to our laws, for the violation of territory and other trespasses they committed, which should give it satisfaction.¹⁰⁷

The great invasion of Texas was ended and the Spaniards had their revenge.

Toledo continued his activities as a filibuster with very little success until his reconciliation with Spain. During the first phase of his "patriotic" career, he had demonstrated considerable skill as a propagandist and an ability to command attention in high quarters. His negotiations with Monroe reveal that Secretary of State as a disciple of Machiavelli, an interpretation amply supported by the work of William Shaler. Toledo was capable as an organizer and not without military skill, but the independent attitude of American offi-

¹⁰³ Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, September 5, 1813, Shaler Papers. Shaler was about ready to return to Washington.

¹⁰⁴ Shaler to Monroe, Natchez, October 4, 1813 (No. 89), *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Toledo to Shaler, Nashville, November 6 [?], 1813, extract enclosure in Shaler to John Graham, New York, February 7, 1814, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Arredondo to Calleja, San Fernando de Bexar, September 13, 1813, AGN, Arredondo, IV, f. 196.

¹⁰⁷ [Viceroy] to Onís, [Mexico], September 5, 1813, AGN, ND, III, f. 227.

cers in Texas prevented him from exercising an effective command. He cannot be given credit for any of the successes of the Gutiérrez-Magee expedition since he came on the scene at a most inopportune moment. Discredited by defeat, he continued to attempt grand schemes until the stream of repeated failure bore him, a repentant subject, back "to the bosom of his fatherland."

HARRIS GAYLORD WARREN.

MacMurray College for Women,
Jacksonville, Illinois.

DOCUMENTS

CORONADO'S COMMISSION AS CAPTAIN-GENERAL¹

The document reproduced below exists in two copies (*traslados*) in the *Archivo General de Indias* in Seville.² If the original is also there, it has eluded search by this editor. Its importance as the legal basis of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado's command of his famous expedition is immediately evident. Its publication at this time, in view of the fourth centennial celebration, commemorative of this remarkable Spanish pioneer march into the Southwest of the United States, is, it would seem, most appropriate and, it is hoped, helpful to students of both the man and his enterprise.

The document is unusual in that it has all the outward signs of a royal *provisión* of office and faithfully follows the forms and language ordinarily encountered in them. Despite this it is not signed by the king or by his officers in Spain but is dated in New Spain, at Michoacán, by the secretary Antonio de Almaguer³ on the instruction of the viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza. It evidences royal knowledge of Friar Marcos de Niza's expedition, refers to him as Provincial of the Franciscan Order in New Spain,⁴ and warmly endorses a conquest of the lands and cities he has allegedly seen with his own eyes.⁵ The emphasis is clearly placed on a spiritual conquest by the Franciscans

¹ For a general bibliography on Coronado cf. A. S. Aiton, "Coronado's first report on the government of New Galicia," *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XIX, 306.

² This copy is taken from the *Archivo General de Indias, Justicia*, 48-3-3/30, modern number 339, which contains the papers of the Coronado *residencia*. The other copy is in the same repository, *Justicia, Guadalajara*, 48-3-1/17, *El fiscal con Francisco Vázquez de Coronado vecino de la ciudad de México sobre malos tratamientos hechos a los Indios de diferentes pueblos*. 1553.

³ For his statement of services cf. Francisco A. de Icaza, *Conquistadores y Pobladores de Nueva España* (2 vols., Madrid, 1923), I, 211. The papers of his trial in the Sandoval *visita* are in the *A. G. I. Justicia*, 48-1-14/36, under the title "Visita a Antonio de Almaguer registrador de la Real Audiencia de Mexico. 1546."

⁴ Cf. H. R. Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794* (2 vols., Albuquerque, Quivira Society, 1937), I, 96-103. Wagner found only one contemporary reference to Fray Marcos de Niza as provincial of the Franciscan Order in New Spain.

⁵ For a critical view of the Fray Marcos de Niza claims of discovery, cf. Carl Sauer, "The Discovery of New Mexico Reconsidered," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XII (July, 1937), 270-287.

to be led by Friar Marcos with an accompanying force under a captain-general. Mendoza's right to appoint such an officer to take the place of Hernando Cortés is definitely based on the royal *facultad* granting him that authority, dated at Barcelona, April 17, 1535,⁶ when he was commissioned as viceroy. The entire document is incorporated in the Coronado Commission printed below. Coronado's appointment as Captain-General was made, it would appear, by the viceroy in the king's name without waiting for a royal decision as to his rights. Perhaps this is another example of Mendoza's willingness to assume responsibility and to take action in America in the certainty that royal approval would be forthcoming. Earlier examples are the appointment of Coronado to be *regidor* in the town council of Mexico City in advance of the arrival of his royal *Cedula*,⁷ and the somewhat ambiguous character of his appointment as governor of New Galicia.⁸ Certainly in Antonio de Almaguer's closing statement in the document, the "mandado" referred to is that of April 17, 1535, and the commission bears all of the earmarks of New World origin. It is further to be noted that both this commission and the departure of the Coronado expedition antedate the decision of the *fiscal* of the Council of the Indies, of May 25, 1540, in favor of the viceroy's right to explore and conquer to the north as against the rival claimants.⁹ It would appear then that Mendoza was so anxious to exploit his opportunity that he used his older powers, with respect to the captain-general, to appoint Coronado without waiting for a royal *provisión*. It is conceivable that some of these acts may have inclined the Crown to grant Cortés the hearing he secured in Spain,¹⁰ and have had some bearing on the sending of Tello de Sandoval on his *visita general* in 1543.

ARTHUR S. AITON.

University of Michigan.

* The text of this document is available in C. Pérez Bustamante, *Antonio de Mendoza primer virrey de la Nueva España* (Santiago de Galicia, 1928), p. 145, document III.

⁷ A. S. Aiton, "The Later Career of Coronado," *American Historical Review*, XXX, 298, 299.

⁸ A. S. Aiton, "Coronado's First Report on the Government of New Galicia," *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XIX, 308, footnote 5.

⁹ George P. Winship, *The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542 (Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1896)*, p. 373.

¹⁰ A. S. Aiton, "The Secret Visita Against Viceroy Mendoza," *New Spain and the West* (2 vols., Los Angeles, 1932), I, 1-22.

ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS

—48-3-30—Signatura moderna: Justicia, 339.

/ Carpeta del documento /
/ Documento sin foliar /

Residencia que se tomo a francisco bazquez coronado gouernador que fue de la nueva galizia y a xpoual de oñate su theniente—

Don carlos por la divina clemencia enperador senper augusto doña juana su madre y el mismo don carlos por la gracia de dios rreyes de castilla de leon de aragon de las dos seccillas de iherusalem de navarra de granada de toledo de valencia de galizia de mallorca de sevilla de cordova de coreega de murcia de jaen de los algarbes de algezira de gibraltar e de las yslas de canaria e de las yndias yslas e tierra firme del mar oceano condes de flandes e de tirol etc por quanto teniendo noticia don antonio de mendoça nuestro visorrey e gouernador de la nueva españa e presidente de la nuestra avdiencia e chancelleria rreal que en ella rreside que adelante de la provincia de quiliacan por tierra se podrian hallar y descubrir pueblos y provincias pobladas de gentes naturales destas partes de que dios nuestro señor y nos seriamos servidos determino de ynbiar en nuestro / nombre al rreuerendo padre fray marcos de niça provincial de la horden de señor san francisco en la provincia de la nueva españa del santo evangelio para que fuese a descubrir e saber las dichas tierras e provincias e para ello le dio la conpañia conuiniente a este proposito y la ynstruycion y horden que conuenia que tubiese en la dicha jornada yendo en prosecucion de la dicha determinacion fue dios nuestro señor servido que tubiese noticia de grandes e muy pobladas cibdades e provincias e avn rreynos e por vista de ojos vio mucha parte dello de lo qual en persona vino a hazer rrelacion al dicho nuestro visorrey la qual el ynbio a nuestra persona rreal firmado del dicho provincial dandonos noticia que pues en nuestros dias dios nuestro señor avia sydo servido de descubrir tan grandes tierras donde su santo nonbre fuese conoseido y adorado y su santa fee e yglesia catolica dilatada y nuestro patrimonio rreal avmentado que por que en la dicha dilacion de no se conseguir y saber enteramente lo que en las dichas tierras ay podrian suceder ynconvinientes que en el entre tanto / que heramos servidos de proveer lo que en la prosecucion deste proposito se devia hazer el ynbiaria rreligiosos de la dicha orden personas de ciencia y conciencia con el dicho provincial para que fuesen a las dichas tierras a predicar e publicar el santo evangelio e traer e rreduzir a los naturales della al gremio de la yglesia catolica y a que nos conoseiesen e tubiesen por su rrey y señor natural y que para la seguridad y anparo de los dichos rreligiosos ynbiaria la gente que viesse que conuenia con capitán persona de calidad como el caso e negocio lo rrequeria e por que agora el dicho provincial e rreligiosos en prosecucion e siguimiento de la dicha jornada van con la gente que para ello el dicho nuestro visorrey hizo asy por mar como por tierra e por quel tiene de nos facultad para poder probeer persona que cumpla y hexecute lo que a nuestro servicio en estas partes convenga por virtud de vna nuestra rreal cedula fecha en esta guisa el rrey don antonio / de mendoça nuestro visorrey e gouernador de la nueva españa e presidente de la nuestra avdiencia e chancelleria rreal que en ella rreside por que como aveys sabido don hernando cortes marques del valle tiene de

nos provision de nuestro capitan general de la dicha nueva españa como quiera que con las declaraciones y limitaciones que despues se la hizieron el no puede vsar del dicho oficio sino quando por el nuestro presidente e oydores le fuere mandado y estonces guardando la orden que ellos le dieren pero por que podria ser que nazcan algunas cosas que convengan cometerse la hexecucion dellas a otras personas por la presente vos mando doy poder e facultad para que quando se ofrescieren casos que a nos parezca que seria conveniente cometerse la hexecucion e cunplimiento de lo a otra persona y no al dicho marques lo podays hazer y hagays como prisidente virrey e governador fecha e barcelona a diez e siete dias del mes de abril de mill e quinientos e treynta e cinco años yo el rrey por mandado de su magestad couos contador / mayor viendo que ansi convenia al servicio de dyos nuestro señor e nuestro que la dicha jornada aya hefeto en nuestro rreal nonbre confiando de vos francisco bazquez de coronado nuestro gouernador e capitan general de la nueva galizia que soys tal persona que bien e fielmente hareys e cunplireys lo que por nos vos fuere cometido y encomendado y que terneys especial cuydado en el anparo e defendimiento de las dichas tierras y de los naturales dellas por la presente aprovanos e confirmamos el dicho nonbramiento hecho de vos el dicho francisco bazquez de coronado por el dicho don antonio de mendoça nuestro visorrey de la nueva españa e de nuevo os nonbramos por tal capitan general de la gente que agora va y fuere despues y de otra qualquiera que alla allardes y de las tierras e provincias de acue e cibola y las siete cibdades y de los rreynos e provincias de matate y totontec con todos sus sujetos e anexos e de las de mas tierras e provincias que vos descubrieredes e por vuestra yndustria se descubrieren y mandamos a todas las / personas que alla fueren de qualquier estado e condicion que sean que ayan e tengan a vos el dicho francisco bazquez de coronado por tal nuestro capitan general y os obedezcan y hagan e cunplan buestros mandamientos e vengán y parezcan ante vos a vuestros llamamientos a los plazos y so las penas que de nuestra parte les pusieredes o mandaredes poner las quales nos por la presente le ponemos y vos damos poder y facultad para las hexecutar en los que rrebeldes e ynobidentes fueren e otrosi vos damos facultad para que podays proveer e proveays del capitan o capitanes que convengan y aquellos rremover e quitar e otros de nuevo poner quando quisieredes e bien bisto vos fuere e para que ansi mismo podays conocer y conozeays de todas las cavsas cebiles criminales que entre la dicha gente se ofresciere y acaesciere y entre los naturales de las dichas tierras por do pasardes y estubierdes y entre los dichos españoles y ellos y para el co— / noseimiento y determinacion de las dichas cavsas podays eriar e criays vn teniente dos o mas los que vierdes que convengan e sean nescesarios y aquellos admouer y poner otros de nuevo y en quanto al tratamiento de los yndios naturales de las dichas tierras por do pasardes y estuvieredes y lo que en ellas aveys de hazer y contratar os mandamos que guardeys e cunplays en quanto a lo suso dicho al pie de la letra la ynstruicion que nos tenemos mandado dar y dadas a las personas que van a descubrir y pacificar tierras e provincias nuevas como vos vays la qual llevays firmada del dicho nuestro viso rrey y del secretario infrascrito sin pasar ni exeder contra el tenor e forma della so las penas en la dicha ynstruicion contenidas e mandamos que en el vso y hexercicio del dicho cargo de capitan general de las dichas tierras no os sea puesto embargo ni otro ynpidimiento alguno e que todos se conformen con vos e os den e hagan dar todo el favor e ayuda

que les pidierdes e menester ovieredes sin poner escusa ni otra dilacion alguna que para el huso / y hexercicio del dicho cargo y para todo lo demas por esta nuestra carta vos damos poder cunplido segun que en tal caso se requiere con todas sus yncidencias e dependencias anexidades e conexidades e por quanto vos el dicho francisco bazquez de coronado soys nuestro gouernador e capitan general de la provincia de la nueva galizia e que por nuestro mandado y en nuestro servicio al descubrimiento y pacificacion de la dicha tierra nueva y a traer a los naturales della en conoscimiento de nuestra santa fe catolica y a ponella debaxo de nuestra corona rreal por la presente vos damos poder e facultad para que durante vuestra avsencia en la dicha provincia podays dexar e dexeys vuestro lugar teniente a tinientes en la parte e partes que os pareciere y personas quales convengan y mandamos que las personas que asi dexaredes y nonbraredes en la dicha nueva galizia sean avidos tenidos e obedescidos por tales tenientes de gouernador en ella e que ayays y lleveys el mismo salario que por nos vos esta señalado con el dicho cargo por la provision / que del vos fue dada y que os sea librado y pagado no enbargante vuestra avsencia como hasta aqui se os ha librado e pagado por yr como bays en nuestro servicio y que no os sean quitados ni rremovidos los yndios que por nos y en nuestro nonbre vos estan encomendados y depositados ansi en esta nueva españa como fuera della y otrosi es nuestra merced y mandamos que las dichas tierras y las que mas pacificardes e traxieredes a nuestro servicio como tal nuestro capitan general las tengays hasta tanto que por nos o por el dicho nuestro visorrey de la nueva espana se provea y mande otra cosa y las anpareys y defendays en nuestro rreal nonbre a ellas e a los naturales dellas para que no les sean fechos agravios ni otros malos tratamientos algunos ni ningunas personas se entren en ellas ni las tomen ni ocupen diziendo pertenescerle la governacion de la dicha tierra nueva hasta tanto que como dicho es sea proveydo sobrello lo que a nuestro seruicio convenga dada en la cibdad mechuacan a seys de henero año del nascimiento de nuestro salvador ihuxpo / de mill e quinientos e quarenta años yo el secretario antonio de almaguer la fiz eserivir por su mandado con aquerdo de su visorrey y gouernador de la nueva españa rregistrada diego aguidez por chanciller gaspar de castilla.—

. . .

MOTA PADILLA ON THE CORONADO EXPEDITION*

The most important non-contemporary account of the expedition of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado through what is now northwestern Mexico and the southwestern United States in the years 1540-1542 is to be found in the *Historia de la Conquista de la Provincia de la Nueva-Galicia*, written by the licentiate D. Matías de la Mota Padilla.¹ This indispensable history of New Galicia, of which province Coronado was governor from 1539 to 1544, contains several chapters dealing with the earliest Spanish discoveries made in the southwest portion of the present United States. These passages are of high corroborative value in any study of the Coronado expedition and furnish an abundance of details not mentioned in the eye-witness accounts that have come down to us; and hence it is believed that an annotated translation of these parts of Mota Padilla's work, now long out of print, will be of interest to many readers as the time approaches when the four-hundredth anniversary of Coronado's discoveries is to be celebrated.

Matías Ángel de la Mota López Padilla, or Mota Padilla, as he commonly designated himself, was born in the city of Guadalajara, according to the biographical note of his editor, Joaquín García Icazbalceta, on October 2, 1688, second child of an Estremaduran gentleman and a lady who came of one of the oldest and most distinguished families of the province of New Galicia. Among his maternal forebears were Francisco de la Mota, a *conquistador* killed in the Mixton War, and Diego Pérez de la Torre, second governor of the province and predecessor of Coronado. The young man won the degree of bachelor of laws from the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico in 1711 and began a brilliant career as private lawyer, advocate of various civil and ecclesiastical bodies, mayor of the town of Aguascalientes, fiscal of the Audiencia of Guadalajara, criminal

* It is the rule of the Board of Editors of this REVIEW to publish documents only in the original language, but this selection from Mota Padilla is especially timely because of the approach of the fourth centenary of the Coronado expedition. In view of the fact that Mota Padilla can be obtained in relatively few libraries in the country, it is felt that the translation and notes will make the material available to a larger public and that publication will also be welcomed by scholars who do not have the Spanish edition at hand.—Ed.

¹ *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*, Mexico, 1870, and issued separately with "Noticias biográficas" by Joaquín García Icazbalceta, Mexico, 1872.

judge, and *regidor* of the provincial capital, at all times devoting himself generously to the public welfare. He was not rewarded by higher governmental positions than these, however, and at his death in 1766 at the age of 78 was a man of straitened means.

The *History of New Galicia* was completed before 1742, a year that was precisely two centuries after the return of the Coronado party to Mexico. The desire to record the history of his native province and to perpetuate the deeds of its discoverers and founders—among whom a number of Mota Padilla's ancestors had taken first rank—furnished a strong motive for such a work, and his connections with various official bodies gave him access to many records that would have been invaluable in the task. In particular, he was able to avail himself of the works of the Franciscan historian, Fray Antonio Tello, of which only fragments now survive. Regarding his sources of information for the Coronado expedition, it will be seen that Mota Padilla claims to have examined documents found in Culiacán that were written by Don Pedro de Tovar, one of the foremost captains of Coronado and best known as the discoverer of the ancient villages of the Hopi. What other eye-witness accounts he might have examined cannot be conjectured; but it is unlikely that the most important of these, the lengthy narrative of Pedro de Castañeda of Nájera, was ever consulted by him, since this manuscript was known to have reposed in Seville in 1596, whereas Mota Padilla apparently passed his entire life in Mexico. The points of correspondence between the contemporary accounts of the expedition and the Mota Padilla version are many, and comparison of this version with the various eye-witness records² reveals a surprisingly small number of places where it may be demonstrated that Mota Padilla is clearly in error. (An attempt has been made to indicate all such errors by footnotes to the translation that follows, although to collate the points of difference in all the various versions is not feasible.) On the other hand, the variation in treatment is sufficiently different from any of the other known accounts of the Coronado expedition to indicate that Mota Padilla did not draw exclusively upon a single one of them, suggesting the possibility that the facts related in his *History of New Galicia* stem from some rather reliable outside source—probably Tello, who wrote his chronicle nearly a century earlier. In any event, it may be said that

² The most important of these, including the Pedro de Castañeda narrative, are to be found in translation in *The Coronado Expedition*, by George Parker Winship, *14th Annual Report*, Bureau of Ethnology, 1892-93, Part I, Washington, 1896. Numerous references will be hereinafter made to this work, under the citation of "Winship."

no study of the Coronado venture would be complete without a scrutiny of these parts of Mota Padilla's important work. The translation of the Coronado passages follows.

A. GROVE DAY.

Stanford University.

CHAPTER 22

It has already been mentioned how Dorantes, Cabeza de Vaca, Maldonado, and the negro Esteban had come out of Florida by way of Sinaloa, and gone on to Mexico. They informed the viceroy [Don Antonio de Mendoza] that they had heard from the Indians on their way that on the right hand was a very large province called Tzibola, which they extolled and praised highly, saying that it had seven walled cities with very tall houses, of six and seven stories, and that their portals were ornamented with precious stones.³ Likewise Fray Antonio de Ciudad-Rodrigo⁴ had sent out priests from Jalisco to discover those lands, and they returned giving report of them. These priests went by way of the coast of the South Sea, and around toward the north; and when they had swerved to the left hand more than two hundred leagues, many Indians came out to receive them, from whom they heard that further on the land was inhabited with people who wore clothes and who had houses of many stories, and that there were other tribes on the banks of a copious river, and that there were cows and other animals.⁵ This report was given by one of the priests called Fray Juan de Olmeda to Fray Antonio de Ciudad-Rodrigo, who by the same person forwarded the report to Fray Marcos de Niza, commissary-general, who was of such a turn of mind that on foot and shoeless he set forth on the journey, taking with him the said Father Olmeda. Having reconnoitred the provinces of Marata, Acux, and Tonteaca, and getting news of the province of Tzibola, he found it

³ Cabeza de Vaca did not mention Tzibola, or Cíbola, by name, nor did he give the number of villages. These bits of information were first transmitted to Fray Marcos through his guide and scout, the negro Esteban, while travelling northward through central Sonora in the spring of 1539.

⁴ Father-provincial of the Franciscan order in New Spain.

⁵ Dr. Carl Sauer has lately shown that, through an interesting historical confusion, this journey of the two friars was actually not a separate exploration, but merely the account by the historian Motolinia of the excursion of Fray Marcos and his companion Fray Honoratus. Motolinia did not name these two, and later writers copying Motolinia assumed an anonymous earlier discovery. Still other writers bestowed names upon the unknown two; Mota Padilla's "Fray Juan de Olmeda" seems apocryphal. See *The Road to Cíbola*, by Carl Sauer, *Ibero-Americana*, III (Berkeley, Calif., 1932), pp. 21-24.

convenient to return to Mexico, and gave a detailed report to the viceroy.

He, accepting it as true and feeling that it was possible to win another New Spain, determined to go in person on the journey. The Marquis of the Valley [Hernando Cortés, conqueror of Aztec Mexico] conceived himself to be captain of the coasts of the South Sea, toward where those lands lay, on account of his conquests there, and upon this they had argument, and the Marquis was obliged to go to Spain. The viceroy determined to avail himself of the many noblemen who were in Mexico, who like cork on the water bobbed up and down without having anything to do or knowing what to busy themselves with, all depending upon the viceroy to do them favors and being maintained at the tables of the citizens of Mexico. Thus it was easy to enlist more than three hundred men, most of them mounted, because already many horses were raised [in that country]. He gave them thirty pesos and promised them grants in the land that would be settled, and more when it was ascertained that there was a hill of silver and other deposits. Because of the good reputation that at the time was held by Francisco Vázquez Coronado, governor of the kingdom of New Galicia, he conferred on him a commission for the expedition.

He remitted the necessary instructions, and the force having arrived at Compostela,⁶ the governor held a review of the army and found two hundred and seventy mounted men with lances, swords, and other hand weapons, some with coats of mail and sallets with visors, both of iron and of raw cowhide, and the horses with bardings of native blankets; and seventy infantrymen, both musketeers and harquebusiers, and others with swords and bucklers. He divided the army into eight companies, and named as camp-master Lope de Samaniego, D. Pedro de Tovar as ensign-general of the army, and as captains D. Diego de Guevara, D. Rodrigo Maldonado, Juan de Zaldívar, D. Diego López de Cárdenas, alderman of Seville, Pablo de Melgosa, Melchior Díaz, and Diego de Barrionuevo.⁷ The army, then, was divided in this manner, with more than a thousand horses, not counting the pack-animals, and others loaded with six field-guns [pedreros], powder, and shot, and more than a thousand Indian allies

⁶ An early town in the present state of Nayarit, near the Pacific.

⁷ In this list, Mota Padilla confuses García López de Cárdenas with another captain, Diego López, who was the former *veinticuatro* or alderman of Seville. Barrionuevo's first name was Francisco, not Diego. For a more complete list of Coronado's officers see Winship, p. 477. See also A. S. Aiton, ed., *The Muster Roll of Coronado* (Ann Arbor, 1939), *passim*.

and Indian servants, and horse-handlers, cowmen, and shepherds. On the first of February, 1540,⁸ they marched for Centizpac, taking in their company the fathers Fray Marcos de Niza, Fray Juan de Padilla, Fray Juan de la Cruz, and Fray Luis de Ubeda,⁹ and left Cristóbal de Oñate named as lieutenant-governor of the kingdom of New Galicia.

They arrived at the Río de Centizpac,¹⁰ and here they were detained three or four days, because it was necessary for the sheep to cross one by one. They then arrived at the town of Chametla, where we have seen that D. Nuño de Guzmán had founded the town of Espíritu Santo, which after a little while was abandoned because its settlers left for Perú, and because of the plague which the Indians suffered, and attacks from those in the hills. They found the country in revolt, so that it was necessary to enter the hills in search of corn, with the camp-master, Lope de Samaniego, as head of the party. They penetrated into the thickets of a wood in which a soldier, who accidentally got separated, was captured by the Indians. He uttered cries which were heard by the alert camp-master, who freed the soldier from danger and, thinking himself to be secure, raised the visor of his helmet just at the time when an arrow was shot from one of the thickets, entering one eye and piercing the brain. I will not pause to describe the grief felt by the whole army, because this Samaniego was one of the most enterprising of the captains and beloved by all. He was buried in a chapel, whence his bones were later taken to Compostela.

The fate of Samaniego was taken as an evil omen, and some of the rebel Indians of this village were captured, and of these some were hanged and left swinging from various trees. They [the army] went on to the village of Culiacán, which as has been said was founded by D. Nuño de Guzmán with people of noble blood. These welcomed the general and his army, as he was their governor. They remained a month, providing themselves with flour and corn, because as far as the Valley of Hearts [*Corazones*],¹¹ which was a hundred leagues, there were no provisions. After a five-day journey they arrived at the town called Sebastián de Evora's, because it had been granted to

⁸ The correct date is Monday, February 23. See Winship, pp. 382, 596.

⁹ A fifth friar, Antonio Victoria, was a member of the party, but broke his leg in Sonora and was sent back to Culiacán, where he probably remained. Luis de Ubeda was also known as "De Escalona."

¹⁰ Probably the Río Grande de Santiago, the large stream near the mouth of which the old town of Centizpac was founded.

¹¹ This was the Ures basin of the middle Sonora River. It got its name through Cabeza de Vaca, who was there presented by the Ópata inhabitants with five thousand dressed animal hearts.

a Portuguese of this name, who had deserted it as too remote and because he had not been able to garrison it. . . .

The army¹² went on, penetrating the country toward the left hand, to the Valley of Hearts, and ten or twelve leagues beyond here is the province of Sonora,¹³ where they gathered a few provisions. They went through a little pass, which they named Chichilticali (that is to say, "red house," after one that was in it plastered with the red earth called ochre); here they found pine trees with large cones of very good pine-nuts.¹⁴ Further on, at the top of some rocks, they found sheep skulls with large horns, and some said they had seen three or four of these sheep, and that they were very fleet (such animals have been seen in Cathay, which is Tartary). They arrived at Tzibola,¹⁵ which was a town divided into two sections, which were walled about so as to make the town circular, the houses joined together and of three and four stories, with doors opening on a large court or square; in the town wall one or two posterns were left for passage in and out. In the middle of the court was a trapdoor or scuttle by which they descended to an underground chamber,¹⁶ with a roof of large beams of pine, a little hearth on the floor, and whitewashed walls. Here the Indians spent days and nights in diversion, and the women brought them food, and this was the life of the Indians of all the neighboring villages.

Before the general arrived, more than two hundred Indian warriors came out, and though they were required to keep the peace, they made lines on the earth that no one should pass,¹⁷ and when our people attempted to do so, they let fly a shower of arrows, and began the attack. Leaving more than twenty dead on the field, they barricaded themselves in their quarters, and later that night they fled. The fol-

¹² This refers to a flying squadron of seventy horsemen under Coronado who left Culiacán on April 22, a fortnight in advance of the main body, which did not reach Cibola until midwinter.

¹³ The portion of the Sonora River valley between Babiácora to beyond Banamichi.

¹⁴ This earth-walled ruined fortress, which Castañeda claimed was built by "a civilized and warlike race of strangers who had come from a distance," was probably located on or near the Gila River in southeastern Arizona, perhaps not far from Solomonsville.

¹⁵ Tzibola has been conclusively shown to be the ancient pueblos of the Zuñi tribe, now enclosed in the reservation some thirty miles south of Gallup, New Mexico.

¹⁶ The ceremonial *kiva* or *estufa* characteristic of all Pueblo villages.

¹⁷ The barrier lines were made with sacred corn meal, and the custom still persists where Pueblo Indians wish to exclude strangers from some secret ceremony.

lowing day our men took possession of the outbuildings, in which they found sufficient corn, beans, and squash to last the winter, which is almost like that of Spain; it rains little, and snows every year at the same time as in Spain. No fruit was found, but many fowls of the country.¹⁸ The stalks of corn are short, and bear large ears with fat kernels, and these do not decay or rot, but may be kept in granaries for three years and more.

The general and his army, having lodged themselves in the said quarters, endeavored to explore all the surrounding country. They discovered some six similar towns, which owed allegiance to the populace of the seven cities.¹⁹ It was averred that at eight suns from there (thus the Indians termed the days) was a large province of many people and much food, which was called Tigües, and that further on were some plains frequented by cows.²⁰ At this news a message was sent to Sonora and the province of Hearts, to summon the rest of the army who were wintering there, and had been well supplied with corn and beans, and very fragrant white tunas.²¹ The order was given that the head-man [*cacique*]²² Melchior Díaz should remain with seventy men to establish a town, and taking half of them should go forth to explore the harbors of the South Sea. The general wrote to give account to the viceroy of his journey.²³ Also he ordered the captain D. García López de Cárdenas to go with thirty men to explore the land below Tzibola. . . .

CHAPTER 32

The journey and expedition that the governor, Francisco Vázquez Coronado, made to Tzibola has already been related, and although his army divided, they found nothing. Captain Melchior Díaz proceeded toward the South Sea, and having traveled some days through rough country, they found Indians, naked and very cowardly, who it is believed were from the island or gulf called California. Having traversed several ranges toward where the sun sets, with some inclination toward the north, they came upon people of great stature, whom they called giants, and who got along well with our people. They jour-

¹⁸ Turkeys, which the Indians kept not to eat, but solely for their feathers.

¹⁹ This may be a passing reference to the visit of Pedro de Tovar to the ancient villages of Hopi. The implied feudal relations between Hopi and Zuñi did not, however, exist.

²⁰ The bison or American buffalo.

²¹ The prickly-pear cactus, which gives an edible fruit.

²² The use of the word *cacique* may have been a slip for *capitán*.

²³ The letter, dated at Cibola, August 3, 1540, may be found in Winship, pp. 552-563.

neyed until they came upon the sea. Along its banks they went for some days, through the lands of these Indians, who live on maize that they gather, and fish from the sea. They came upon a very large and deep river,²⁴ which might be entered by ships. The Indians, to withstand the cold, carry in their hands a burning branch which warms their breasts, and in the same way their shoulders; this was such a common habit among all these Indians that on this account our people named this river the Firebrand River [Río del Tizón]. Near it they saw a tree on which was carved some letters, which said "At the foot is a message"; and in fact they found it in a jar, well wrapped so that it would not get damp. Its purport was that in the year 1540 Francisco²⁵ de Alarcón arrived there with three ships, entering over the bar of this river, sent by the viceroy D. Antonio de Mendoza in search of Francisco Vázquez Coronado; and that having been there many days without any news, he found it necessary to leave, because the ships were riddled by *teredos*.

With this information Melchior Díaz, noting the inhospitality of the country, determined to cross the river, which he did with great danger in some large coracles that the Indians had calked with a kind of pitch so that the water would not get in. Four or six Indians grasping it, they pushed it along while swimming, as one does with a raft, at which the Indian women assisted. Having journeyed four days, they found no people, and the country was bad. Therefore he determined to return to the town that had been founded, San Gerónimo, or The Hearts, and the captain wished to take back one of the Indians, so that the viceroy might see his great size. Finding a young man, they tried to capture him, but he made such resistance than among four Spaniards they could not lash him up, and he gave such shouts that they were obliged to let him go, in order not to arouse the enmity of these Indians. One night on the return trip a little dog ran barking at the sheep that they had brought for provision, while the captain, Melchior Díaz, was keeping his watch on horseback. On seeing the sheep scatter, he threatened the little dog, and this not sufficing, gave chase and in full career threw his lance, which stuck in the ground, and as the horse passed by without stopping, the ferrule of the lance pierced his groin, and the blow felled him to the ground. The soldiers hurried him back, but with all the haste they could make, they could not get him to the town alive. And so they buried him

²⁴ The Colorado of the West.

²⁵ Alarcón's proper first name was Hernando.

on a little hill, and above his grave they put a cross, and continued their journey with a feeling of grievous loss, because in truth he was very much loved by his soldiers. He had been a captain of Nuño de Guzmán and was mayor of the town of Culiacán, where he had some good allotments of Indians [*encomiendas*], which were later given to D. Pedro de Tovar. He died on January 18, 1541.

When the winter had passed, D. Francisco Vázquez Coronado decided to leave Tzibola to go to the province of Tigües, which was seventy leagues off. Half-way there he found a pueblo fortified or walled with large rocks, which he called Atlachaco,²⁶ and the province is called Tigües, from a torrential river that the Indians know by this name.²⁷ He found there twelve pueblos, the largest containing two hundred Indians. These pueblos are walled, like the seven of Tzibola; they differ in that the pueblos of Tzibola are made of shale cemented by earthen mortar, and those of Tigües are made of pebbly earth, although very strong. Their buildings are entered from inside the town, and the entrances in the walls are small doors; they ascend by narrow little ladders, and come off them to a platform on the rampart, and by another ladder they descend to the level of the town.

The Indian women have their kitchens very tidy, and in the grinding of maize they differ from the rest of the settlements, because on a rough stone they crack the maize, and then grind it on a second and third, from which they take it out in powdery form like flour. They do not make *tortillas*, which are the bread of the Indians and which are made skillfully, by putting the corn in some jars and mixing it with a little lime, after which they take it out—now called by the name of *nixtamal*—and rub it to get out the lime. The corn sheds its outer skin or hull, and then on a *metate* (for thus they call the stone on which they grind it, which is three-fourths of a yard [*vara*] long and a third of a yard wide, and the pestle to correspond) the Indian women break up the corn by strength of arm, until it becomes a soft mass, and patting it with one hand against the other, they whirl it with such skill that a *tortilla* comes out so large that it occupies all the flat earthenware pan [*comale*] on which they bake it, which commonly is a yard and a half in circumference; and turning it over thrice on the griddle, in such a short time as would suffice to shape

²⁶ The pueblo of Acoma, oldest continuously inhabited spot in the United States, which then as now occupied a strategic position on the top of a 357-foot mesa.

²⁷ Tigüex, as it is usually called, was the ancient Tigua Indian group of settlements on both side of the Río Grande in the region of Bernalillo in north-central New Mexico.

another, the first one is cooked; and this is the ordinary food of all New Spain and New Galicia.²⁸

The Indian women of Tigües do not do this, but melt the flour in water, and make a corn meal gruel, and on some smooth stones that they use for griddles over the fire, they pour out this batter, and leave it until it is cooked, and it also is very savory breadstuff. The gruel [*atole*] they use in the same manner as do all the other tribes, for when the ground meal is dissolved, they strain it, so that only the body of the juice remains, and in jars they put this on to cook, until it thickens. This is a common food, and so healthful that they give it to all the sick, so that they have a common saying, when they wish to affirm a certain thing as infallible, that the *atole* of San Juan de Dios will lose its efficacy sooner than that which is stated will fail to happen.

Enough of digression which, since it is not part of the story, should not be allowed to break the thread of the journey of Coronado. He, examining the houses of these pueblos, found that in some separate rooms they had their beds and clothing, and in others, their granaries of corn, which they keep two or more years, and is a perpetual sustenance, as are also beans and very large squashes, which they keep in dried slices. They have many fowls of the country, but no fruit was seen except a kind of little red tuna. All the houses have flat roofs, and on top they have some things like little towers for defense. The river is full of water and produces good catfish; it runs over a flat plain, and they can easily divert water to irrigate thirty or forty leagues, in which they could grow much wheat if they would sow it, since the soil is fertile, although somewhat sandy. The Indians are of good stature, the Indian women well formed; they wear white blankets, which cover them from the shoulders to the feet, and although they are all covered up, they find places to put out their arms. Moreover, they are accustomed to wear over these blankets others which they throw over their left shoulder, with an end slung diagonally under the right arm like a cape. They make much of the hair and always have it well combed, gazing at themselves in a cup of water as in a mirror. They part the hair in two braids, tied with strips of colored cotton, and on each side of the head they form two disks or circles, which join up at the back, leaving the ends of the hair lifted like a crest. On little sticks of some three fingers' breadth they glue some green stones that they call *chalchihuites*,²⁹ of which it

²⁸ This is a perfect description of the way in which the Mexican women make *tortillas* today.

²⁹ Turquoises.

is said that there are veins. It is likewise said that they are found at Sombrerete,³⁰ in a mining town called Chalchihuites for this reason; and a reliable person has assured me that in the kingdom of [Nuevo?] León he had seen many of these stones, and had understood that if they were cut, they would look like emeralds. With the said stones they make little ornaments which with short sticks they fasten in the hair like nosegays. The Indian women are pure, and they pride themselves on not doing anything wrong.

Regarding marriage, it is the custom that when a young man wishes to woo a maiden, he awaits her where she goes to carry water, and takes her pitcher, by which act he makes known to her kindred his desire to marry her. These Indians do not have more than one wife. On one occasion the Spaniards, when an Indian had died, saw erected a large pyre of firewood, upon which they put the body covered with a blanket, and then all the people of the pueblo, men and women, went and put on the bed of firewood cornmeal, squashes, beans, *atole*, roast corn, and whatever else they are accustomed to eat, and set fire to it all over, so that shortly all was turned to ashes with the body.³¹ Not a temple was seen, nor any idol recognized,³² and it was understood that they worshiped the sun and moon, and this was confirmed, because one night when there was an eclipse, much wailing arose.

The pueblo where they [the Spaniards] lodged was called Coofer. They ejected the Indians to obtain quarters; they told these Indians that they had reached the end of their journey, to which they did not answer (which might have been because they did not understand, owing to lack of interpreters).

The governor ordered that three companies of about thirty mounted soldiers³³ should reconnoitre the land, and two of the captains returned very discontented, saying that they had seen nothing more than

³⁰ A town about seventy miles northwest of the city of Zacatecas. Chalchihuites still retains its old name.

³¹ The Pueblos commonly interred their dead, and aside from this statement by Mota Padilla there does not seem to be any evidence that cremation was practiced. However, Alarcón reported that the Indians of the lower Colorado burned their dead.

³² Small fetiches were frequently worshipped by the Pueblo Indians, but naturally the *conquistadores* would learn little of the secret religious customs of the natives.

³³ Pedro de Tovar was sent to Tusayán, or Hopi, with seventeen horsemen and a few footmen, and after his return García López de Cárdenas discovered the Grand Canyon of the Colorado with twelve men. Hernando de Alvarado, going eastward, had twenty men. See Winship, pp. 488-490.

some other pueblos like those along that river; and that all this seemed to them a small matter, because they found no trace of gold, nor other benefits, except fertile lands. The third captain was Hernando de Alvarado, a relative of the *adelantado*,³⁴ who said he had seen many cows, of which they had killed some, and that on the road they had seen a pueblo of more than five thousand inhabitants, and because of its good position, he called it Valladolid;³⁵ and that likewise he found an Indian in those plains who told him, more by signs than by words, of the existence of a province thirty suns away, which was called Copala,³⁶ and to this Indian he gave the name of The Turk,³⁷ since he was very dark, personable, and of good disposition. He told them such things of that province that they marveled, and in particular that there was such a quantity of gold that they could not carry it on horses, but only in carts; that there was a lake in which canoes travelled, and that the ones belonging to the chief had oarlocks of gold. In order that he might explain himself, they showed him silver, and he said it was not like that, but like a gold finger-ring that he saw. He said that they took the chief out to war in a litter, and that when he wished, he unmuzzled some greyhounds that tore the enemies to pieces; that he had a very large house, where everyone attended to serve him; and that in the doors were hung cotton blankets. And in this way he held the captain and the soldiers in wonder, and they gave him full credence, as if they had never seen a stage play. One day they saw him looking and speaking into a jar of water as to another person, from which they suspected some magic, and doubted what he said, although others took the story as true.³⁸ They brought this story back to the governor, who determined to go forth in search of such a rich province.

³⁴ Pedro de Alvarado, one of the foremost figures in the Cortés conquest and at this time *adelantado*, or governor, of Guatemala.

³⁵ This was the name bestowed upon the pueblo of Taos, near the headwaters of the Río Grande, which was visited by Captain Barrionuevo in the fall of 1541. Castañeda also states that Alvarado saw Taos on his trip eastward, but it seems hardly possible that he had time to do so. The chief settlement that he did visit, Cícuyé or Pecos, is not here mentioned by Mota Padilla.

³⁶ Mota Padilla here confuses Quivira, which Coronado was led by The Turk to seek, with Copala, a legendary "lake" region which was sought by Francisco de Ibarra in northern Mexico and was later thought to be northeast of the country of the Utes.

³⁷ The Turk was almost certainly a Pawnee Indian of the lower Platte River country of Nebraska. He was found by Alvarado as a slave among the Jémez inhabitants of Pecos.

³⁸ According to Castañeda, the incident of the jar, of which he gives a full description, occurred later. See Winship, p. 503.

But in Tigües several wars broke out, because when the herds of horses and mules were grazing near the river, the Indians of one small pueblo fell upon them and killed more than forty, and then fortified themselves in their village.³⁹ Our people endeavored to avenge the outrage, and after some battering, the poor wretches surrendered. When they had been tied up, our people cruelly killed more than one hundred and thirty braves, treating them as beasts because they did not understand them, since they had no interpreter.⁴⁰ This action was looked upon in Spain as deplorable, and with good cause, because it was an act of great cruelty; and when the camp-master García López went to Spain to take over an inheritance, he was imprisoned in a fortress on this charge.

After this occurrence, the Indians fortified themselves in the other pueblos, and the same D. García went to the main pueblo to summon the principal chief, who was called D. Juan Lomán,⁴¹ although he was not baptized. He looked down from the walls without wishing to come forth in peace, but at the instance of D. García, he offered to come out and parley, if he [D. García] would leave behind his horse and sword, for he had much fear of these. Under this agreement, D. García dismounted his horse and turned over his sword to his soldiers, whom he ordered to retire. Then, approaching the walls, he was confronted and embraced by Juan Lomán, and immediately six Indians who had been coached in their parts seized him bodily and would have dragged him into the pueblo if the door had not been small, for there he made a stand, and was able to resist until some troopers arrived, who defended him. The Indians wished to commit some atrocity on the said D. García, and so they attempted to take him alive, for had they come out with the flint sabers or clubs that they use, they could have killed him. The mounted men did not come unscathed from the rescue, since some were wounded by the arrows and stones which were thrown from the roofs.

It was then decided that all our people would raze the pueblo. They besieged it, and when the Indians still remained rebellious under summons, they attempted to open a breach. When the coating of

³⁹ The attack upon the Spaniards was not unprovoked. It was prefaced, as Castañeda describes, by summary ejection of the Tiguas from their homes, wholesale seizure of blankets and other possessions, and mistreatment of an Indian woman. See Winship, pp. 495-496.

⁴⁰ The Indians apparently believed that they would receive pardon if they surrendered. See Winship, pp. 496-497.

⁴¹ This chief was nicknamed "Juan Alemán" because he resembled a citizen of Mexico of that name.

mortar was broken off, it was observed that the inside of the wall was of palisades, tree trunks and woven branches well anchored in the ground, so that they resisted the blows of some makeshift battering-rams, during which time much damage was done to our people by stones from the roofs and arrows from the loopholes. One soldier, attempting to plug up with mud a loophole from which much harm was being done, was shot in one eye by an arrow, at which he fell dead; he was called Francisco Pobares. Another called Juan Paniagua, a very good Christian and noble person, got an arrow wound in one eyelid, and he proclaimed that it was to his rosary, which he was always telling, that he owed his life. Another soldier, called Francisco de Ovando, squeezed in by a little slit, and while he was showing his head in, they seized him and fired from within, ending his life. A ladder was put where, at all costs, some climbed up; but designedly the Indians had many parts of the roofs exposed to the sky and not connected with the others, and as there were at short distances apart some little towers with many loopholes and embrasures, they did much damage, so that they wounded more than seventy, of which died three: a certain Carbajal, brother of Hernando Trejo, who was later lieutenant-governor for Francisco de Ibarra in Chametla; a Biscayan called Alonso de Castañeda;⁴² and a certain Benítez. This was all their own fault, since they had a few firearms to attack with and could also have set fire to the walls, since these were of treetrunks and palings with only the outer coating of plaster.

When the governor saw the feeble effect of the onslaught, he ordered the retreat sounded, with the idea of forcing them to surrender because of lack of water, although not because of hunger, for he knew they had ample stores of corn. They endeavored to treat the wounds, although they were festering and making scars; and as it is thought, the cause was that in some little wicker vessels the Indians shut up vipers, and with the arrows they touched them so that they would bite the points and leave them poisoned. When the Indians had endured for some time, and it was thought that they were suffering from thirst, it began to snow, with which snow they were saved and maintained themselves two months, during which time our people attempted many foolish acts. One was to build some engines with timbers, which they called swings, like the old rams with which they battered fortresses in times before gunpowder was known; but they did no good. Then, lacking artillery, they attempted to make some wooden tubes tightly bound with cords on the order of rockets; but

⁴² Apparently no relation to Pedro de Castañeda, the chronicler.

these did not serve either. Nor did they contrive to stow firewood against the walls and set them on fire. It seems to me that considering the cruelty with which they ended the lives of the hundred and thirty poor wretches before, they were unworthy of victory. And thus, one night the besieged went forth in flight, leaving our people fooled and with no gain except the poor plunder of the besieged place, and the Indians went out valorously.

At the place where they went out were stationed as sentinels two soldiers who were not very alert; of these, one disappeared, and the other was found with his heart pierced by an arrow. The corpse was carried and put near the common campfire; and when the soldiers returned after trying to pursue the Indians, one of them on dismounting from his horse trampled on the mouth of the poor fellow, and attributed his fated death to having been a recreant and a blasphemer. At dawn, it was decided to reconnoitre the pueblo, and when it was entered, it was found well provisioned but without water, and they observed a deep well in the plaza which the Indians had dug in search of water, and not finding it, had resolved to flee, as later occurred.

The governor began to prepare for his journey to the province of Copala, drawn by the riches so highly praised by the Indian known as The Turk. At this time, news arrived that the town of San Gerónimo (which by order of Coronado had been founded by Captain Melchior Díaz in the Valley of Hearts, and was twelve leagues beyond the place called Sonora today) had rebelled, and in it had died Captain Alcaraz and other soldiers, having been attacked one night by the Indians of Sonora and the rest of the neighboring tribes; and that of the soldiers who had survived, some had gone off, each his own way.⁴³ At this news the governor ordered D. Pedro de Tovar to go to the defense and to send word to Mexico of what had been done up to that time, and of the journey on which they were leaving Tigües for Copala.

CHAPTER 33

The governor supplied himself with provisions for thirty days, notwithstanding that The Turk said that in the pueblo of Iza and in that of Ayas, which were six or seven days' journeys away, there

⁴³ The attack on the village and the death of Alcaraz occurred later, after the settlement had been moved, at Tovar's order, to the valley of Suyá, near modern Bacoachi on the upper Sonora River. See Winship, pp. 502, 533-534. A somewhat more accurate account of the massacre is given by Mota Padilla further on.

was plenty; and having departed toward the west⁴⁴ found a pueblo one day's journey from Tigües, whose Indians welcomed him heartily, and he charged them that they should tell the inhabitants that they should stay in their pueblos without misgivings that they would be blamed for any past happenings. After three more days' journeys over level land, they found other pueblos, of which one was named Zitos⁴⁵ because of the many they had in which they stored corn; another was called Jimena,⁴⁶ and another Coquite,⁴⁷ and all barricaded themselves and would scarcely speak with them. In order not to lose time, seeing that these pueblos were like those of Tigües, they went onward, without any attempt to convert those Indians, lacking interpreters.

Having journeyed for six days, they discovered a herd of wild cows of the country, and many lakes of water, some sweet and others brackish. These cows are smaller than ours, their fleece short and finer than merino, the outer coat somewhat brown, and beneath a soft dun color. The wool at the hind parts is sparser, and from here to the head grow long manes, more coarse; they have small horns, and in everything else are of the same make as ours, although more lean. The bulls are larger, and their pelts are tanned leaving the fleece on, and serve, because of their softness, for bed robes. Not a calf was seen,⁴⁸ and this may be attributed either to the many wolves that are among them, or to their having other ranges more secure in which the cows remain with their young, going there at certain seasons either because the water in those lakes dries up, or because when the sun recedes they are weakened by the change in climate. Hence, on those plains the beaten paths and trails by which they come and go are well known, and whenever the cows move, they are followed by bands of Indians who have no towns, nor could they support their families were it not for the cows which they kill, covering themselves with the skins as well as selling them to the neighboring peoples. The flesh of the females is said to be insipid, and this is the providence of the Almighty, so that the Indians will kill the males and leave the females

⁴⁴ A slip for "east." Later Mota Padilla gives the direction correctly.

⁴⁵ Castañeda gives the name of this village as The Silos, which explains the reference to storing corn. See Winship, p. 523.

⁴⁶ Probably the Tano town of Galisteo, now abandoned.

⁴⁷ Evidently Mota Padilla's version of Cicuyé, or Pecos, the important easternmost Pueblo settlement, on the upper Pecos River. It was here that The Turk had been found in slavery by Alvarado.

⁴⁸ This is an error, and a strange one, for the buffalo calves are mentioned by several of the contemporary writers. See Winship, p. 542.

to multiply. In all the land not a tree was seen, so that the dung of these cows served the army as fuel.

Having, then, journeyed four days on these plains, among heavy fogs, the soldiers discovered marks like lance-heads dragged on the ground, and led on by curiosity, they followed them until they ran upon fifty braves who with their families followed some herds of the said cows, and had some small and not very fat dogs loaded with some poles and skins, with which they make their tents, or pavilions, in which they take shelter from sun or rain. The Indians are of good stature, and it was not known whether they were nomads or had towns; it was presumed they had them, because not one of the Indian women carried a small child. They [the women] go dressed in some overskirts of deerskins from the waist down, and throw over themselves some cloaks or *vizcainos* of the same skin. They have leggings of tanned hide and sandals of rawhide. The men go naked, and when the cold begins to bother them, they cover themselves with tanned hides. Neither the men nor the women have long hair, but close cropped, and from the middle of the head to the brow have it shaved with a knife. They use as weapons the bow and arrow. With the brains of the said cows they treat and tan the hides. The cows are called *cíbolos*,⁴⁹ and are more ready to attack than our bulls, although they are not so courageous. At the royal fiestas which were celebrated in the city of Mexico at the accession of our king, D. Luis I, the Count of San Mateo de Valparaiso arranged to have a female buffalo take part in a fight, and just to see her the entire population of Mexico crowded into the plaza, to the great profit of the scaffold-maker that day. The food of these Indians is the raw meat, and they drink the warm blood.

Thus far journeyed our people, guided by The Turk toward the east with much inclination toward the north, and thenceforward he guided them due east. Having gone three days, the governor called a halt to confer as to whether it was proper to leave the guidance to this Indian, who had changed the direction. In this interim a soldier, either as a prank, or to get some meat, wandered off, and although they awaited him, he was never heard of again. Two journeys further,⁵⁰ still guided by the Indian, they passed a deep ravine, which

⁴⁹ This name, commemorating the seven cities of Cíbola, is still used in Spanish to designate the American bison.

⁵⁰ The tally of days' journeys given by Mota Padilla does not give the correct time elapsing on the journey eastward. Coronado states that they left Tiguex on April 23 (Winship, p. 580); Castañeda says May 5 (Winship, p. 503). Castañeda says also that up to the time they rested at the ravine they had been on

was the first cleft in the earth they had seen since Tigües. At three in the afternoon they halted, and suddenly a strong wind carried to them a cloud laden with terrifying hailstones, which fell as large as nuts, hens' eggs, and even ducks' eggs, so that it was necessary to hold up their shields to protect themselves. The horses stampeded and tried to run away, and would never have been found again if the ravine had not stopped them. The tents which had been set up were wrecked, and all the jars, earthen pans, griddles, and other crockery were broken. Afflicted with such disasters, they determined on that day, which was that of the Ascension of the Lord, 1541, that the army would return to Tigües to refit, as it was a country provided with everything, in which they could pass another winter; and that the general with some others would go on exploring the land until they reached the lake of Copala. The army returned under the command of D. Tristán de Arellano, and although there was no road, they managed to pass by the same pueblos of Coquite, Jimena, and Zitos, the people of which behaved as before, barricading themselves. Having arrived at Tigües, they found all the pueblos deserted, and they lodged in the same pueblo of Coofert⁵¹ where they had been before.

At the end of two months, a little more or less, the general with his men returned to Tigües, and explained that they had journeyed more than a hundred leagues, coming to a halt at the borders, as it seemed, of Florida; and that they came upon a pueblo that was called Quivira,⁵² whose chief was rumored to have much gold. They found it to be a pueblo of about a hundred houses, by which it was shown that The Turk lied, and they garrotted him—a bad act, in truth, for in other circumstances, he might have told them of other pueblos of New Mexico or Florida. In this province there is certain to be much copper, so that the poor Indian might thus have deceived himself, or he might have mistaken the road in going to find the quantities of gold with which he had promised to load the horses and even carts. It must have been the punishment of God that they did not find these riches on this expedition, because this ought to have been the secondary object of that journey and the first the conversion of all those heathen; but they pushed aside the first and coveted the second, and thus the

the road thirty-seven days, and had covered two hundred and fifty leagues. According to the best reckoning, Coronado divided his forces about May 27. The "ravines" were probably among the headwaters of the Brazos River of Texas.

⁵¹ Previously spelled "Coofer."

⁵² Mota Padilla here gives the correct name of the province sought by Coronado. Quivira has been identified with the settlements of the Wichita Indians in the Great Bend country of the Arkansas River.

misfortune is not so much that these labors should come to naught, as that up to the present such a large number of souls have remained in their ignorance, when there was certain news of so many villages filled with people.

At this time also returned to Tigües D. Pedro de Tovar,⁵³ who told how, after the death of Melchior Díaz, the village of San Gerónimo in Sonora remained in charge of Juan de Alcaraz,⁵⁴ a citizen of Culiacán; and as the land was poor, some soldiers deserted and went to Mexico. The Indians made an effigy of our captain, and putting it on the ground, shot at it with arrows, and then dragged it around with much yelling, afterwards frenziedly celebrating a figurative victory. Our people did not appreciate the gravity of this act; and thus, unwarned, they were attacked one night by the Indians, and the captain and some soldiers died writhing, because the arrows were poisoned. Also died a certain Temiño, a brother of Baltasar Bañuelos, one of the four mine-owners of Zacatecas; Luis Hernández; Domingo Fernández; and others. Of those who survived, leaderless, some went to Mexico, and others toward Tzibola in search of the governor. They encountered D. Pedro de Tovar,⁵⁵ who took them back to the town of San Gerónimo with the intention of punishing the rebels; but they found the whole country deserted, and this was all the news that he could give the general in Tigües.

Weighed down by grief, as may be imagined, the governor decided to return to winter at Tigües, and thus he, like the other captains of the army, blinded by the greed for riches, did not endeavor to take root and settle in this land that they saw so well provided, nor to subjugate the Indians nor instruct them somewhat in the Faith, which is what they should have done. All they tried to do was to fatten their horses for whatever might offer itself when the winter was past. When the governor was exercising a very spirited horse that he had, the saddle fell from under him, and thrown to the ground he remained senseless. Although he later recovered, his judgment was affected, so that everyone discussed giving up the enterprise, because that place, which seemed best for wheat-growing, was exposed to frost, for the river froze so that loaded horses could pass over it; because it was

⁵³ Tovar brought reinforcements from Sonora, and also messages, among which was a summons to García López de Cárdenas to go to Spain to inherit an estate. Cárdenas left about October 20, and it was he who brought word back to Tiguex of the Suya massacre. See Winship, p. 533.

⁵⁴ Diego Alcaraz, as his name was, had been a willing henchman of the notorious Nuño de Guzmán and a slave-raider. He was, as Castañeda well describes him, "a man unfitted to have people under his command."

⁵⁵ Should be García López de Cárdenas.

more than five hundred leagues from Mexico; because the South Sea was far away; and because the land was very poor and they had seen nothing of value except the little turquoises or *chalchihuites*. The general agreed to all this, because he was distraught and in Mexico had left good estates and a wife. And in order to reassure himself he requested that all should sign [a petition]. Although many of the captains were feeling that they should hold the land until they gave an account to the viceroy, they notwithstanding were little by little coming over to the same notion.

But as Fray Juan de Padilla, when he accompanied D. Francisco Vázquez Coronado to the pueblo of Quivira, had erected there a cross, he protested that he would not desert it though it should cost his life, and feeling certain that he could make progress among those Indians and the neighboring ones, he determined to return there, and the arguments of the governor and the rest of the captains could not prevail upon him to give up his project. Fray Luis de Ubeda asked likewise that they should let him return with Fray Juan de Padilla as far as the pueblo of Coquite,⁵⁶ where it seemed to him that he could succeed in instructing those Indians somewhat, because they appeared to him to have an aptitude for it; and since he was old, he would employ the short life that remained to him in saving the souls of those unfortunates. In imitation also, Fray Juan de la Cruz,⁵⁷ a lay cleric (as was also Fray Luis de Ubeda), aspired to remain in the province of Tigües. As he reflected that in time these lands would be settled, the governor granted the requests of these apostolic men, and he left them provided with whatever at the time seemed necessary. A soldier of the Portuguese nation called Andrés del Campo,⁵⁸ with the aim of serving Father Padilla, also wished to remain, and also two Christianized Indian lay brothers [*donados*] called Lucas and Sebastián, natives of Michoacán; and two other Indians who in the army had served as sacristans, and another young half-breed. With the said Father Padilla were left vestments and supplies for celebrating the holy sacrament of the Mass, and some little trinkets that he could give to the Indians to incline them to his wishes.

Thus these blessed clerics remained like lambs among wolves. Seeing themselves alone, Fray Juan de Padilla endeavored among those

⁵⁶ This is a further identification of Coquite with Cicuyé, or Pecos, at which place, according to the other writers, Fray Luis remained.

⁵⁷ His name appears in the Franciscan martyrologies, but curiously no contemporary account mentions him. On the other hand, Fray Luis appears in the eye-witness documents but is neglected by the church historians.

⁵⁸ He had been gardener for one of the "old Conquerors" in Mexico.

of Tigües to attain the end which had led him to remain among them, which was nothing else than to labor for the salvation of their souls. He said that since the soldiers had gone, they would not be molested; that he was going to other settlements and was leaving Fray Juan de la Cruz to instruct them in what they should do to be Christians and sons of Holy Church, as was necessary to save their souls; that they should behave themselves well; and that he would try to return and console them. He took his leave with great tenderness, leaving Fray Juan de la Cruz as pastor, showered with blessings. The Indians of Tigües picked a squad of their soldiers to guide the said fathers Fray Juan de Padilla and Fray Luis de Ubeda to the pueblo of Coquite, where they were received with demonstrations of joy. Making the same recommendation to Fray Luis de Ubeda, he took leave of him, and guided by other natives of the same town, he left for Quivira with Andrés del Campo, the lay Indians, and the young half-breed.

He arrived at Quivira and knelt down at the foot of the cross, which he found where it had been erected, with the place around it all cleaned and swept as he had charged them to do, at which he was rejoiced. At once he began to perform the offices of spiritual father [*padre maestro*] and apostle to these people, and finding them docile and well disposed, his heart was kindled, and it seemed that those of this village were but a small number of souls to bring to God, and he desired to extend the bosom of our mother, the Holy Church, in order to give refuge to all those that he had heard were to be found at greater distances.

He left Quivira, accompanied by his small retinue, against the will of the Indians of that village, who loved him as their father. At one day's journey, hostile Indians came upon him, and perceiving the evil intentions of those barbarians, he told the Portuguese that as he was mounted he should flee, taking under his protection the laymen and lads, who could thus run and escape. This they did, as they could find no other way of defending themselves, and the blessed father, kneeling down, offered up his life, which he sacrificed to bring souls to God, winning the ardent desire of his heart, the felicity of martyrdom by the arrows of those barbarous Indians, who threw his body into a pit, covering it with innumerable rocks.⁵⁹ The Portuguese, returning with the Indians to Quivira, gave the news, which the natives felt keenly on account of the love they had for the said father, and would have regretted it more if they had fully understood the evil

⁵⁹ Captain Jaramillo states from hearsay that "those who did it were the lay servants, or these same Indians whom he took back from Tigües." See *Winship*, p. 592.

that had been done. The day of his death is not known, although it is held sure that it was in the year 1542.⁶⁰ In some papers which D. Pedro de Tovar wrote and left at the town of Culiacán, it is said that the Indians had gone out to kill this blessed father in order to steal the vestments, and that it was remembered that at his passing many prodigies took place; the land was flooded, comets and balls of fire were seen, and the sun was hidden.

The Portuguese Andrés del Campo and the laymen went toward the east guided by some Indians, and passed through various pueblos without receiving any harm;⁶¹ and just as Dorantes and his companions travelled from Florida to come out at Xalisco, whence they went on to Mexico, so these wanderers who went forth from Xalisco penetrated all the land in a shorter circle as far as Quivira, which seems to be more than forty degrees toward the arctic pole, until they entered the province of Pánuco, which seems to be at the twenty-third parallel. From Pánuco the Portuguese went to Mexico,⁶² and the laymen to Michoacán, of which they were natives.

Of Fray Juan de la Cruz all that is known⁶³ is that after laboring to instruct the Indians in Tigües and Coquite, he died by the arrows of the Indians, because all of them did not embrace his doctrine and counsels, through which he tried to wean them away from their barbarous customs; although in general he was highly esteemed by the chiefs and other natives, who had seen the veneration with which the general, captains, and soldiers had treated him.⁶⁴ Fray Luis de Ubeda lived in a hut as in a cell or cave, where the Indians ministered to his needs with a little *atole*, *tortillas*, and beans, their meager diet, and nothing is known of his death; if he remained among them many years, they must have a recollection of his perfect life.

At the news which was received of the heroic resolution of these apostolic men and their deaths, many clerics burned to enter those lands and towns. . . .

⁶⁰ Vetancurt in his *Teatro mexicano* gives the date erroneously as 1539, and states that Fray Padilla set forth after two years in Quivira, which would be 1544.

⁶¹ Gómara states in his *Historia general de las Indias* that Del Campo spent ten months in captivity among the Indians, and, after escaping, he carried a cross with him, and therefore was offered shelter and food.

⁶² He arrived previous to 1552, since Gómara's book, which mentions his journey, was printed in that year.

⁶³ Nothing could have been known except through Indian tradition, for Tigües was not revisited by white men for forty years.

⁶⁴ Mendieta claims that Coronado had such a respect for Fray Juan de la Cruz that he ordered his men to bare their heads each time the friar's name was mentioned.

To finish at once with the journey of Coronado, he returned with his straggling army to Compostela, with few soldiers, because some remained at Culiacán, others, discharged, went to Mexico, and others were scattered in poverty. The general was so wearied that he did not even wish to continue the government of [New] Galicia, which he left to Oñate, the more willingly on hearing of the troubles⁶⁵ which had occurred, and of the poverty of the kingdom. He went to Mexico, where he was not very well received by the viceroy, for having returned without orders. . . .

⁶⁵ The Mixton War, an Indian outbreak which kept New Galicia in a state of siege from December, 1540, to December, 1541. Coronado was deprived of his governorship in September, 1544.

BOOK REVIEWS

France Overseas Through the Old Régime. A Study of European Expansion. By HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY. (New York: D. Appleton Century Company, 1939. Pp. xvii, 393. \$5.00.)

While French colonizing effort, in its wide range extending to all parts of the world, has not hitherto been described in a single work in English, this is now done by Mr. Priestley. His earlier volume "France Overseas, a study of modern Imperialism," deals with the more recent period, and the present work covers the early history down to the age of Napoleon. The field is wide. French effort overseas dates back to the Crusades. The First Crusade was inspired by a French pope, Urban II, and it was the fiery ardor of a Frenchman, Peter the Hermit, that stirred all Europe. A Frenchman, Godfrey de Bouillon, was the first king of rescued Jerusalem, and France became and remained to our time the protector of Christians in the Holy Land. She was active in later movements overseas. When Spain began her colonial empire, French rivalry was soon stirred. Since Spain quickly became well entrenched in the south, the French ventured into the north in America. As early as in 1534, France made a formal claim in the region of the St. Lawrence River which, in large measure, her sons still hold, though under another flag. Before the English had gained a footing in Virginia, the French had defied both Portugal and Spain and, with tragic losses, had tried to found colonies in Brazil and Florida. She acquired islands in the West Indies, lost San Domingo, but still retains Martinique and Guadeloupe. She has French Guiana in South America, great territories in Africa, including some four million people in Madagascar, islands in the South Pacific, and Indo-China in Asia with twenty million people. In the struggle for India she lost, and in North America, her most promising field for colonization, she has today no footing except in two tiny islands off the coast of Newfoundland. She failed, but she also succeeded and she has now a vast Empire. Britain was the persistent enemy. Yet now the two nations are both great colonial powers and are closely allied. The romance, if such it may be called, of history is startling.

Mr. Priestley has a great theme and he tells his story with adequate knowledge. A tale of such wide range could probably not be based

wholly on original authorities. While he has not neglected them he has used chiefly secondary authorities and the notes on nearly every page show the industry and wide reading that must have extended over a number of years. He writes in a clear English style, too laden with a multitude of facts to permit of descriptive narrative. The work is essentially a book of reference, and as such has real value. On his huge canvas Mr. Priestley is remarkably accurate in detail. Readers will not be absorbed in the book as they are in the works of Francis Parkman on French Canada. Here are no purple patches, no vivid pictures. Instead we have a sober story of the labors of a great nation in nearly every quarter of the earth.

In the Greek sense of a colony, as a region peopled by migration from the mother country, France has never been a great colonizing power. Of people of French origin living overseas, probably the largest community is in French Canada, today British. They are descended from about ten thousand ancestors who emigrated from France. The French empire is ruled but not peopled by Frenchmen. The island of Réunion in the Indian Ocean, with about a hundred and eighty thousand people of French origin, is probably the most numerous colony of Frenchmen in the present France overseas.

Britain, on the other hand, has founded great colonies of her own sons. Nearly eight million of them live in Australia and New Zealand, and half of the eleven million of Canada are of British origin. Frenchmen were reluctant to leave the fair land of France, and few ever went to people colonies overseas. In respect of the greatest colonizing movement ever made, that to North America in the seventeenth century, for one Frenchman who went to France's colonies of Canada, Acadia and Louisiana, England sent to her colonies at least fifty, and England had the smaller population. Yet the French, more adventurous than the English, were the first to explore the interior of the vast continent. They lacked, however, a strong middle class, expert in tasks of colonization. The French had another handicap. Successful colonization involves freedom for the colonists who, in a new environment, must have liberty to adjust themselves to it. The despotic King of France would not, however, concede this liberty. His officials interfered constantly in the affairs of the colonies. While Louis XIV insisted that only Frenchmen and Catholics should be allowed to go to Canada and Louisiana, the English colonies were ready to receive people of many races and religions. Moreover, intrigues and rivalries always haunt a despotic system, and the French colonies suffered from incessant quarrels.

The French have the admirable quality of comparative freedom

from the prejudice of race. In fashionable Parisian restaurants a negro attracts no special remark and receives the same attention as his white neighbor at the next table. At times France encouraged in North America marriage with natives and a consequent half-breed race. The French have carried this freedom from race prejudice into the field of government. The colored natives of Senegal, negroes of Martinique and Guadeloupe in the West Indies, Indo-Chinese, Arabs from North Africa are free to sit as deputies in the French Chamber and to share in government. Faraway Réunion, peopled by French, sends two deputies and a senator to Paris. This marks an essential contrast between France and Britain as colonial powers. The French republic is really a highly centralized Empire, while monarchical Britain is moving in the opposite direction. The British Empire is now a Commonwealth containing some half dozen free nations, each completely self-governing, with no control from London. The monarchy thus seems to be more democratic than the republic and the seeming paradox is easily explained. The French empire overseas consists chiefly of people not yet developed politically, while the free nations of the British Commonwealth are of European origin and inherit a long growth in political liberty. Britain has also, of course, many crown colonies ruled from London. Both systems seem to work well enough. The British Commonwealth covers about six million square miles and the French Empire three million. They are the two vastest and most varied political systems in all the world.

GEORGE M. WRONG.

Toronto, Canada.

France and Latin-American Independence. The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1939. By WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1939. Pp. xv, 626. \$3.75.)

This is obviously a major contribution in the field of the foreign relations of Latin America. In addition to two introductory chapters dealing with the long colonial background and Napoleonic designs upon Spain and Portugal, the work contains a detailed discussion of the relations of France and Latin America—with the exception of Cuba and Panama—until the process of recognition was completed and the first treaties of amity, commerce, and navigation were negotiated. In some instances the commercial negotiations are carried down to 1850 and even beyond. Numerous other scholars have dealt with certain phases of the subject and Professor Robertson has in most cases taken full advantage of their investigations. But his volume is also

based upon a mass of manuscript sources examined in the archives of appropriate European governments as well as those of the United States and Mexico. The official archives of other American countries he has not investigated. It is not likely, however, that these would have added much to his vast accumulation of information, even if a thorough investigation of them had been humanly possible. This reviewer has no doubt that most of the salient facts have been unearthed either by Professor Robertson or his predecessors in Europe and America.

Professor Robertson does not include in his rather large volume a summary of the relations of France with the Latin-American independence movement. Most of his chapters terminate with a brief statement of the main points contained therein; but these statements, in view of the length of the volume and the mass of data, seem inadequate. It is believed that a general summary and statement of conclusions would have added to the value of his significant volume.

During the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries France was interested in Latin America primarily for two reasons: commerce and imperial expansion. French territorial gains at the expense of Spain and Portugal were comparatively unimportant. French trade with Latin America at various times during the period assumed considerable significance, but the author makes no attempt to estimate the total. Indeed it is possible that no such estimate could have been made. Napoleon first dreamed of adding Spanish America to his empire and then decided to foment its separation from the metropolis. The second phase of his policy was interrupted by his own defeat in Europe. The restored French monarchy was influenced by ties with Spain and hampered by the policies of England and the United States. If it had been free to carry out its fundamental desires, perhaps it would have favored at first the granting of aid to Spain in subduing the insurrection of Spain's American colonies while sympathizing with the maintenance of the integrity of the Portuguese empire. Later the French monarchy wished to see the Spanish-American states become quasi-independent appanages of the Spanish crown ruled by Spanish or French Bourbon princes. Such a plan had little chance of success at any time. It found small favor in Spain or Spanish America and it was opposed not merely by England and the United States but perhaps by the vast majority of Spanish-Americans themselves. And through the "tangled web" of politics ran the "golden thread" of commerce, in which not only Napoleon but the Bourbons themselves were concerned. Napoleon desired raw materials and was eager for gold and silver. The Bourbons began to feel the pressure of

French commercial interests soon after their restoration. On the one side, urging the recognition of the new states of Latin America, were the merchants and perhaps a few liberals without materialistic motives. On the other were family ties with the Spanish Bourbons and the monarchical ideology which counselled delay. With the revolution of July, 1830, and the arrival of the Bourgeois King Louis Philippe, the merchants and liberals won. Recognition and the negotiation of commercial treaties followed as soon as conditions in Latin America were propitious. Before the July Revolution only Haiti and Brazil, in respect to which the French government possessed greater freedom of action, had received the boon of recognition from the national authorities in Paris. Haiti had been a French colony, and in the case of Brazil the French government was not fettered either by a Family Compact or Bourbon intransigency.

In addition to the absence of a general summary and conclusion, certain minor defects may be noted in Professor Robertson's authoritative work. The index, although rather long, is incomplete. In the main, it is an index of proper names. "Family Compact" is omitted despite its crucial importance in the general theme. Neither commerce nor trade appears despite the decisive influence of this factor, which perhaps deserves fuller discussion in the narrative. Discussions of monarchy are listed under "Bourbon monarchies," but it would seem that monarchy should have been included, with a cross reference to the more specific term, as well as republic, republican idea, and revolution—matters which gave so much anxiety to the European reactionaries. And in spite of much stress on public opinion, Professor Robertson omits that item from his index and thrusts upon the reader the burden of searching for the titles of various periodicals with which the reader may not be familiar. Scant attention is given to the influence of French political ideology in Spanish America, and although the author cites an impressive number of books, articles, and monographs, a few are conspicuously absent from his notes and bibliography: Aiton on the Family Compact; Rydjord on Napoleon's interest in Mexican silver; Lanning on England and Spain's recognition of its former colonies; Léger on the diplomacy of Haiti; Lecuna's edition of Lockey's *Pan Americanism*, which throws light on Bolívar and the Colombian monarchical project; and probably others. The work, however, contains three good maps and is almost free of typographical errors.

J. FRED RIPPY.

University of Chicago.

Our Catholic Heritage in Texas. By CARLOS E. CASTAÑEDA. Vol. IV, *The Passing of the Missions, 1762-1782.* (Austin, Texas: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1939. Pp. 409. Illus. \$5.00.)

It was a pleasure to read this book and it is a satisfaction to review it. The reviewer, it happens, is in sympathy with the subject and with the author. This is probably an advantage as Robert Louis Stevenson pointed out years ago in his essay on the poet Bobby Burns. The provision, of course, is that one keep the critical faculty properly alert.

The book under review is the fourth of a projected seven volumes which Carlos Eduardo Castañeda is engaged upon under the auspices of the Knights of Columbus of Texas organized into an historical commission. The undertaking is supported by seven bishops, bolstered by an executive committee, and strengthened by a group of diocesan historians. At the end of an imposing list of churchmen and scholars the name of Castañeda appears last with the humble title of historiographer.

But the last shall be first. These volumes do him honor, for those who have courted the muse of history realize that to him, chiefly, has fallen the immense task of research and of composition. The general title of this work may seem to some a misnomer, for "Our Catholic Heritage in Texas," up to the fourth volume at least, is pretty much the general history of this the largest state of the Union. Sub-titles to each volume indicate the larger scope of the history: *The Finding of Texas*, *The Winning of Texas*, *The Missions at Work*, lead to this the fourth title: *The Passing of the Missions, 1762-1782*. Generous credit is given predecessors in the field, especially to Dr. H. E. Bolton and his basic *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*. But the substitution of the word "The" for "Our" in the general title would have broadened its sympathetic acceptance.

Carlos Castañeda is happy to have at his elbow the rich resources for the history of the Southwest of the library of the University of Texas, of which library, indeed, the author is the custodian of the Latin-American section. The list of manuscript materials here enumerated is imposing with no less than three hundred and seventy-five items drawn from those two main fountains, the *Archivo General de Indias* in Seville and the *Archivo General y Público de la Nación* in Mexico City. These have in recent years been made available by the transcript work of Dr. W. E. Dunn in Spain and by the photostatic work of Dr. Charles E. Hackett in the Mexican capital. Dr. Castañeda himself has done his share in the enrichment of his own sources, for he has photostated for the University of Texas the San Francisco Archive in the national library of Mexico.

The first chapter gives a detailed picture of the state of the missions and presidios in 1762 with figures of the number of baptized. This offers enlightening comparison with figures available in other mission fields in Florida and Georgia, in Santa Fe, in Sinaloa and Sonora, in Alta California, in Canada, in Paraguay, and along the upper Amazon. Then the author recedes beyond the time limit set for this volume, 1762, and gives the background for the occupation of the Trinity river, as one of those moves of "aggressive defensive" against the French early introduced into Spanish policy by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in 1565. The Apaches and Comanches come importantly into this story. The aftermath of the San Sabá massacres is narrated and the renewed effort in 1762 for the friendly absorption of northern savagery through the founding of missions Candalaria and San Lorenzo. Then comes the year of the great turnover, 1763, when all of Canada and the east Mississippi valley were ceded to England and all Louisiana was given over to Spain. The reorganization of the Texan frontier takes up the last five chapters of the volume: plans for reorganization, the Marqués de Rubí's extended visitation, the withdrawal of the Queretaran Franciscans, the abandonment of east Texas, and—the beginning of the end of the missions—the first steps for secularization in San Antonio.

If Voltaire was right in his letter to Madame du Châtelet, that as historian he would wish "to ascertain how men lived in the interior of their families and what were the arts which they commonly cultivated," we have it in the author's minute description of the presidios and missions in their decadence. At San Antonio where the twenty-two soldiers of the presidio were mustered for inspection by the Marqués de Rubí "they made a strange and colorful, but most unmilitary appearance. Each one wore his own selected colors and insignia. . . . Various shades of red predominated, while silk handkerchiefs and lace and silver buttons contrasted woefully with the poor quality of the cloth and the wretchedness of the wearers. . . . The pistols and rifles were found to be of various calibers and makes, but worst of all one third of them was useless" (p. 237). At Los Adaes "only two rifles of those inspected were found serviceable. The whole company of sixty-one men had seven swords that could pass inspection. . . . The little ragged band resembled beggars more than soldiers. Nearly every soldier inspected lacked hat, shirt, and shoes. Their families were no better off, some of them having to remain at home for lack of clothes to cover their bodies" (p. 238). Soap was forbidden the soldiers as too expensive a luxury!

Such details, lifted directly from the sources, are delightfully pre-

sented; history, fresh and new, is made pleasurable. Even Voltaire must have refrained from criticism. Many other narratives are equally delightful, such as that of Parilla's campaign to the north and the description of the battle against the fortified village of the Taovayas where the Spanish colonel was decisively defeated.

A real criticism might be made concerning one phase of the author's usually graphic style. In spots when speaking of the friars the style inclines towards the over-sympathetic or unctuous. We meet too often "good padre," "good bishop," "burning zeal," "devoted missionary," while twice in one paragraph we have "zealous old missionary." This might argue for some readers an uncritical partiality. Simply the last name for a missionary would at times be more desirable; it would add to the vigor and the variety of the narrative. There are two maps, one of them being an old print. But an added map indicating the places actually spoken of in this particular volume would increase its utility. Six illustrations add to the attractiveness of the book. The slow eye of the reviewer caught one misprint. There may be others.

This whole work thus far does credit to the work of the Franciscan friars. It is not yet fully realized what vast labors in both the Americas were undertaken for the upliftment of mankind by these men of religion, from Fra Roman Pane who came over with a group in 1493 with Columbus to Fra Leo Heinrichs who was killed in Colorado of the United States in 1908.

PETER M. DUNNE, S.J.

University of San Francisco.

John Tyler, Champion of the Old South. By OLIVER PERRY CHITWOOD. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939. Pp. ix, 496. \$4.00.)

John Tyler's reputation as a statesman has been based largely on materials supplied by his enemies. He deserves to have his public career examined by an impartial student of history, and Professor Chitwood has assumed this task.

In theory, the American people select their public officials on the basis of their competency to perform the service required; in practice, party leaders nominate candidates for office merely because the nominees are likely to attract votes for the party ticket. Tyler was one of the victims of such party chicanery.

The personality and the constitutional principles of John Tyler were known to Whig leaders long before they nominated him for the office of Vice President in 1840. In 1830 he had opposed Clay's in-

ternal improvement program, and he had denounced the use of the word "national" as applied to the federal government:

"I have no such word in my political vocabulary. A nation of twenty-four nations is an idea I cannot realize. A confederacy may embrace many nations; but by what process twenty-four can be converted into one, I am still to learn."

When the "Force Bill" (resulting from Nullification in South Carolina) was before the Senate in 1833, Tyler voted against it and declared:

"The government was created by the States, is amenable by [to] the States, is preserved by the States, and may be destroyed by the States. . . . The true state of the case is this: It is because I owe allegiance to the State of Virginia that I owe obedience to the laws of this [Federal] government. My State requires me to render such obedience. She has entered into a compact, which, while it continues, is binding on all her people. So would it be if she had formed a treaty with a foreign power. I should be bound to obey the stipulations of such treaty, because she willed it. . . . It is because I owe allegiance there, that I owe obedience here. . . . I owe no responsibility, politically speaking, elsewhere than to my State."

As a party, the Whigs were nationalistic, and their program was Hamiltonian. They sponsored the Bank of the United States, protective tariff and internal improvements financed by the federal government. The Whig convention of 1840, however, feared that their real leader, Clay, could not be elected. Jackson had been elevated to the presidency because he had won the closing battle of the War of 1812; the Whigs therefore selected General Harrison as their standard bearer because he had won the opening battle of that war. For the harmless position of Vice President the convention nominated John Tyler of Virginia, in the hope that he might attract the votes of Democrats who, for various reasons, had become dissatisfied with General Jackson and his protégé, Van Buren. Harrison lived only a month after his inauguration, and Tyler succeeded him as President. The political situation was extremely awkward. From the outset, Clay was determined to play the rôle of President, in fact, even though his party had failed to nominate him; but John Tyler was not the type of man to sign on the dotted line under orders from the party dictator. A party split was inevitable, but Clay, rather than Tyler, was responsible for it. Doubtless Tyler should not have let personal ambition induce him to accept the nomination of a party in whose policies he did not believe; but the Whig leaders knew his views before they nominated him, and they deserved little sympathy when he refused to comply with all of their demands. In fact, he did co-operate with them to a greater degree than might have been expected; but when

he vetoed their bank bill, he was read out of the party, and he returned to the Democratic fold whence he had come.

The policies espoused by the Democrats were more congenial to a man of Tyler's sympathies and constitutional view-points. He had, as President, cast the "Texas Question" into the political arena; and from this resulted war with Mexico, the Wilmot Proviso, the Dred Scott decision and, eventually, the Civil War. The man who uttered the constitutional views quoted above could not honestly hesitate when a choice of allegiance had to be made; he responded to the call of Virginia.

Tyler's biographer has made a thorough study of his subject. He has depicted well the difficulties with which the former President had to contend. He has done Tyler full justice, but his weaknesses are not overlooked or condoned. In one instance only does the biographer strain a point to demonstrate the wisdom of his hero. He quotes from a manuscript in which Tyler advocated a peaceful dissolution of the Union and an alliance between the two confederacies. He adds that:

"No better plan than this was offered at the time for settling the difficulties that had arisen between the North and the South. . . . The tragedy of the situation was that at a time when Tyler's insight into the future was clearest his sane advice, owing to his lack of influence with Northern leaders, fell on their closed ears with the impressionless impact of Cassandraic prophecies." (pp. 456-457)

Holding the views he did concerning the nature of the Union, it was natural for Tyler to think his proposal to be both reasonable and constitutional. It is not so easy to see how a writer of our own generation should think it "unfortunate" that the government at Washington did not sit with folded hands and permit the Union to disintegrate without making an effort to prevent it. Even Robert E. Lee could find no warrant in the Constitution for a dissolution of the Union, and he asserted that "secession is nothing but revolution."

In general, however, the volume is impartial and well written. It does President Tyler the justice which has been too long delayed.

E. I. McCORMAC.

University of California,
Berkeley.

Sutter: The Man and His Empire. By JAMES PETER ZOLLINGER. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939. Pp. xvi, 374. \$3.50.)

John Augustus Sutter was one of the most picturesque figures in California at the time of transition from Mexican to American. Because it was on his domain that gold was discovered in 1848, he has

often been hailed as the foremost hero of the drama of Americanization, though the more careful opinion has been that his significance was by no means so great. He has long been recognized as an aspirant to grandeur, somewhat of a bluffer, an open-handed host, more adept in conceiving grand designs than in carrying them into effect, more successful in getting credit than in paying his debts, and in the end a tragic figure, not merely because of outward circumstance but also because the consequences of certain of his defects caught up with him at last.

The present author has brought to light a modicum of new material on Sutter's unhappy lot before migrating to America. These findings were presented in 1935 in an article in the California Historical Society *Quarterly* and are the central thread of the first sixteen pages of the present volume. Mr. Zollinger uses this piercing of what he calls the "impenetrable darkness shrowding his European years" (p. vii) as the springboard for an interpretation of Sutter's subsequent career. In particular he insists that Sutter's personality was forever warped by resentment against his first-born, whose birth was "forestalled" by but a day (p. 10) by the marriage of his parents. Sutter harbored, we are told, "a deep, primordial, and largely unconscious hatred against this fatal child" (p. 14). The phrase is a sufficient key to the nature of the volume, which, despite the voluminous bibliography of manuscript and printed materials, turns out to be psychography rather than biography. One would have greater confidence in the author's judgment if he did not blunder so often on elementary facts, for example, in setting the number of California missions at eighteen (p. 49) and the number of American immigrants in 1841 at 200 (p. 91). One would have greater respect for the author's opinions if he did not indulge in such unmannerly derogation of California historians in general and of writers on Sutter in particular. The assertions of author and publisher notwithstanding, Sutter's life story has not yet been acceptably presented.

JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY,

University of California at Los Angeles.

Centro América en el congreso de Bolívar: Contribución documental, inédita, para la historia de la primera asamblea americana. By JOSÉ RODRÍGUEZ CERNA. (Guatemala, C. A.: Tipografía Nacional, 1938. Pp. 321.)

This work of Rodríguez Cerna should prove a welcome addition to our Bolivariana. It should be translated into English, for we have far too little material on the Congress of Panamá. And much of what

we do have is incorrect, distorted, and controversial. Even among students of United States History the Congress has received very superficial treatment. This is true especially of the rôle of President John Quincy Adams and Secretary of State Henry Clay. The reaction in the Congress of the United States to the rôle of these two men is rarely given proper treatment. The United States did accept the invitation to attend this gathering and did appoint delegates to it. But the United States was not represented at the Congress itself. Richard C. Anderson, United States minister to Colombia, one of the delegates appointed, unfortunately died on his way to Panamá. The other delegate, John Sargeant, failed to leave the United States until the Congress had actually adjourned. The same is true of the secretary to the mission, William B. Rochester. Nor are the instructions issued to the delegates by Henry Clay given the attention they deserve. The Congress of Panamá has been much more intelligently treated by scholars in Latin America than in the United States.

Rodríguez Cerna explains in the "Palabras Liminares" why he has written his work. He claims that the important rôle of Central America in the Congress of Panamá has never been adequately treated. He also finds that the Congress of Panamá itself has not been adequately treated. He considers this gathering to have been very important, much more so than is generally considered. He finds that much was done for international law in the Congress of Panamá; and that the two Conferences of the Hague of 1899 and 1907 were a direct result of the Congress of Panamá. The Conferences of the Hague were accordingly a partial realization, at least, of the ideas of Simón Bolívar.

Rodríguez Cerna pays a touching tribute to José Cecilio del Valle, the celebrated patriot of Central America, and the services which he rendered the movement for federation in the Central American countries in the formative period of their existence.

The greater part of the work is made up of documentary materials dealing with the inception of the Congress of Panamá; with the reaction to invitation to such a congress in Argentina, Brazil, Central America, Chile, Colombia, Peru, and Mexico, and in the United States, Great Britain, France, and Holland; and with the treaties, conventions, and resolutions adopted by the Congress of Panamá. There are also documents dealing with the Congress of Tacubaya.

The book is printed on good paper, in good print, but is bound only in paper. It also lacks an index, a serious but not unusual omission in works of this kind.

N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN.

University of Pittsburgh.

La política internacional de los Estados Unidos. (Biblioteca Interamericana, Vol. XI.) POR SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS. (Nueva York: Dotación Carnegie para Paz Internacional, 1939. Pp. xi, 192.)

This small volume contains eight lectures given before Latin-American audiences by the author while visiting professor of the Carnegie Foundation. They deal with important phases of the foreign policy of the United States with emphasis on the recent period. Relations with the Far East and Canada are included along with inter-American relations. The lectures contain nothing new or startling; naturally this was not their purpose. Nevertheless they are valuable summaries and interpretations of the topics which they treat.

Professor Bemis evidently tried to be frank and impartial. He did not hesitate to discuss some subjects which had aroused bitterness in Latin America. In doing so he attempted to avoid the rôle of an apologist of the United States and in the main succeeded in his effort. He condemned the "taking of Panama" and contended that for the Mexican War both the United States and Mexico were to blame. Without approving the interventionist policy of the United States after 1904 he endeavored to explain it. He insisted that the interventions were primarily strategic, and expressed relief that the interventionist period had passed.

On the whole, the views of the lecturer are sound, as one would expect. On certain points, some of them unimportant, the reviewer disagrees. The Open Door doctrine relative to the Far East does not seem to be so new as the author indicates. Before the Civil War in the United States the authorities at Washington made a tremendous drive for access to those distant markets on most-favored-nation terms. The assertion or implication (p. 51) that the slave interests were wholly responsible for expansion at Mexico's expense is not justified by the facts, nor did the expansion cease after 1848 (p. 108), as evidenced by the Gadsden Treaty of 1853. The author probably exaggerates the danger of immediate European intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1904-1905, just as he minimizes the length of the expansionist and imperialist period in the United States (pp. 118, 163).

Like a number of writers, Professor Bemis seeks to divorce the canal policy of the United States from the Monroe Doctrine. But this reviewer is unable to do so. Both are policies of self-defense, and the canal policy is legitimately linked with our great maxim of self-defense. Nor can the Roosevelt corollary be divorced from the Monroe Doctrine at all times and in all circumstances. It was essentially an effort to add an element of appeasement to Monrovia defiance, and

it might conceivably become as necessary to safeguarding the doctrine as was the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850. Such action as Roosevelt took might be justified if appeasement should become absolutely essential to the avoidance of a risky war in order to prevent the violation of the doctrine by aggressive non-American powers. If Professor Bemis was primarily interested in asserting that the promulgation of the corollary was inadvisable at the time, the reviewer's objection is withdrawn. In this connection one may also suggest the inadvisability of intimating (pp. 135-136) in the year 1938 that the resolution of the United States to uphold the principles of the Monroe Doctrine might be doubted. As the reviewer reads the evidence he discovers no room for even the shadow of a doubt.

Certain striking omissions may be noted. In speaking of the violations of the Monroe Doctrine in South America the lecturer makes no mention of the Falkland Islands. In describing the Nicaraguan policy of the United States he says nothing (p. 117) of the canal problem, of the Washington Conference of 1907, or of Zelaya's maltreatment of American nationals and their property. Indeed, in his whole treatment of the Caribbean policy of the United States economic motivation is lightly touched. This leaves the picture incomplete. It is true that defense strategy is the constant and important factor, but who will venture to assert that economic influences had no weight at any time?

J. FRED RIPPY.

The University of Chicago.

Americas to the South. By JOHN T. WHITAKER. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939. Pp. 300. \$2.50.)

This is a book by an exceptionally able and experienced newspaper correspondent with a good eye and a clear head. He brings to his task wide contacts with contemporary European political problems and these serve him well as a background for his immediate task—to evaluate the contemporary economic and political forces that are at play in Peru, Chile, Bolivia, the Argentine, Brazil, and Mexico. Mr. Whitaker's first impressions are fresh and immediate and they have something of the charm of new discovery. The writing reveals something of the enthusiasm and glow of having seen a new world for the first time. Each of the chapters devoted to the six countries that the book deals with is in itself good. They are good not merely because the author succeeds in accumulating a considerable amount of significant material, but they are good as judgments and evaluations of the meaning of the facts. He understands the Peru of both Benavides and Haya de la Torre. The estimate of the latter seemed to

the reviewer especially excellent. He sees the personal charm and quality of the leader of the Apra without being mislead as to its immediate prospects. Benavides gets his just due—a tyrant but one with a program. I think he is right in saying that Benavides is not merely a tool—his tyranny is calculated to keep the peace. With a trained newspaperman's sense of the imponderable he succeeds in evaluating the significance of the forces at play, not merely in Chile, but in the other countries also. He understands the difficulties of Bolivia, the peculiar intransigence of the Argentine, the mildness of the Brazilian dictatorship in spite of its thousands of political prisoners, as well as the sphinx-like character of Mexico.

The book on the whole is written with sympathy for the Latin Americans and their special difficulties and needs. But it is also written with a kind of informed realism that many another volume sympathetic to Latin America fails to achieve. In no other book that the reviewer has seen does there appear such a clear analysis of the method and content of the German penetration of South America. There is perhaps an over-emphasis of the dangers of political domination implied as a consequence of economic penetration, but the form of the penetration as well as its extent is exceedingly well told. The treatment of the Mexican revolution and Cárdenas is good, but does not compare with the chapter on the Argentine which is the best in the volume. The reviewer would guess that it was more hastily done. What the author devoted a good deal of time to is the problem of American policy. He feels that we have through misadventure permitted American business and American prestige to suffer not merely by neglect but through a kind of deliberate unwillingness to see the dangers involved. These dangers are pointed to in the last chapter where the question is raised what would happen if Germany won a war against France and England. American policy, historically developed behind the British navy, might be forced to face a German, Italian, and Japanese attack on South America—a possibility which our defense forces have not contemplated and for which they are not prepared. These factors make it more necessary than ever to convert the good neighbor policy into deeds, and the recent arrangements with Brazil are an indication of the policy we ought to follow in the future. The book was written before the war and some of its reflections are subject to the impact of the new situation. The book suffers from hasty writing and from being in many places at least entirely too "popular." The style is easy and unpretentious and the added "popularity" seems quite unnecessary. One would also wish that the author had found himself a proofreader who could spell Spanish. It

is a little jarring for instance to read repeatedly "Zocala" for "Zocalo."

FRANK TANNENBAUM.

Columbia University.

La primera imprenta en las Provincias Internas de Oriente. Texas, Tamaulipas, Nueva León, y Coahuila. By VITO ALESSIO ROBLES. (Mexico: Antigua Librería Robredo de José Porrúa e Hijos, 1939. Pp. 79.)

Timely and scholarly, this account of the beginnings of printing in the northern provinces of New Spain is a contribution both to the history of the Internal Provinces of the East and their cultural development. The author gives a brief but effective summary of the introduction of the first printing press in Mexico in 1539, as the result of the efforts of Bishop Zumárraga, and the spread of its use to the rest of the two Americas up to the beginning of the XIX century. He then summarizes the incidents that led to the Gutiérrez-Magee expedition in 1813, pointing out that it was Álvarez de Toledo who brought the first press to Nacogdoches, set it up, and set the type for the first issue of the *Gaceta de Texas*, which was to have been issued there on May 25, 1813, but which was actually printed in Natchitoches, where Álvarez Toledo fled after May 29.

The first press in Texas, the author declares, was the one brought from England by Mina and operated by Samuel Bangs, of Boston, on the island of San Luis, near present Galveston, from which issued the first *Proclama del General Mina*, dated at Galveston on February 22, 1817. It was this same press which was used to print the second proclamation of Mina at Soto la Marina, in Tamaulipas, dated April 12 of the same year, although the author believes it was actually printed on board one of Mina's ships while at anchor at or near the mouth of the Rio Grande.

He then relates how Arredondo captured the press and the printer at Soto la Marina and took them to Monterrey, where both were utilized as early as 1817. The author questions the assertion of Wagner concerning the priority of the proclamation of Arredondo in 1820 as well as the identity of the press used for the purpose.

With a wealth of heretofore unused material, the author narrates how the same press and printer went to Saltillo in 1822, where they remained for a year. He follows the development of printing in Saltillo, Monterrey, and Victoria until 1830 and lists many interesting items that issued from the press in these pioneer outposts of Spanish civilization.

This study of the beginnings of printing in the Internal Provinces of the East is indispensable to the student of Spanish-American culture in the Spanish Southwest. It constitutes a welcome contribution and a worthy memorial to the five hundredth anniversary of the invention of moveable type and the four hundredth anniversary of the introduction of the printing press in America.

C. E. CASTAÑEDA.

University of Texas.

Bosquejos históricos. By VITO ALESSIO ROBLES. (Mexico: Editorial Polis, 1938. Pp. 467.)

It is a rare occasion when one is permitted the pleasure of reading a series of historical sketches based for the most part on previously unknown documents without having to check the sources (and without having to look at footnotes). The reading of the *Bosquejos Históricos* is such an occasion. The author of these sketches, Ing. Vito Alessio Robles, statesman, engineer, historian, university professor, and without doubt Mexico's greatest living authority on her colonial history, has again scored with a delightful series of short articles cleverly debunking certain historical theories and graciously approving and strengthening others. The prolific pen (or should we be modern and say typewriter?) of Alessio Robles has a way of surprising his friends with treatises written in the best Prescott manner. But this Mexican historian is not only disinterestedly scholarly (a rare trait in any Latin historian), but delights in making the history of collections of documents in Mexico an intriguing story far stranger than fiction.

The sketches embrace many different themes, with those on the colonial history of northern Mexico and Texas predominating. Those sections hold a warm spot in Alessio Robles' heart, because he was born in Coahuila and has spent some of his happiest days in exile in Texas. The rôle of Alberto del Canto as the founder of Saltillo is again made secure in three of the sketches. The origin of the city of Parras merits a fourth sketch, while a fifth, most appropriately for modern trends, relates the gruesome story of the anti-Semitism practiced in Monterrey in the late 16th century against the Carvajal family. It is interesting to note that the small Jewish settlement of San Luis has in time become the great industrial city of Monterrey, today the stronghold of Mexican Fascism! Brief articles give additional light on the church and convent of Huexotzingo; the work of Juan Larios (the "Las Casas of Coahuila"); the origin of the name Coahuila; the faking of seals of Mexican cities and states during the

ministry of José Vasconcelos; and the history of the much discussed region of La Laguna in Coahuila and Durango. The campaigns of Ugalde (after whom Uvalde, Texas, is named) in the desert of Chihuahua, Coahuila, and Durango are discussed in a sarcastic comparison with the campaigns of Obregón, who also, according to the ex-Villista author of the sketches, measured the merits of his campaigns by the number of Castilian leagues covered. The position of Elizondo in the betrayal of Hidalgo is clarified by relegating him from the position of instigator of the crime to that of executor of it. The scheme was the work of Manuel Royuela, treasurer of the royal coffers of Saltillo. Two sketches of especial interest praise and revalue the work of the great patriot priest, Fray Servando Teresa de Mier, who probably was arrested more frequently and escaped more often than any other person in history. Gutiérrez de Lara is absolved of treason against his mother country, while Bravo is given his true place as the instigator if not perpetrator of the assassination of Guerrero.

But probably of most interest to historians are the eight sketches on the vicissitudes of the most important archives of Mexico. Not satisfied with placing intriguing information concerning historical archives in almost all the other sketches, Alessio Robles devotes eight of them entirely to the history of historical collections in Mexico.

Our conclusion can be only the happy one that the art of writing accurate history and even historiography in a manner that will allow the layman to revel in them, has not died out, at least not in Mexico.

FRITZ L. HOFFMANN.

University of Colorado.

Ranchos Become Cities. W. W. ROBINSON. (Pasadena: San Pasqual Press, 1939. Pp. 243. \$2.75.)

Ranchos become Cities is the story of Southern California's growth from a few Spanish *ranchos* with their Indian neophytes to the vast, urban-populated area that is Southern California today. Core of the tale is the burgeoning forth of Los Angeles and the cluster of towns and cities that surround it. There is, perhaps, no other place in the world where such a stupendous transformation has altered the earth's surface.

Spanish soldiers, called "leather-jackets," who accompanied Governor Portalá from San Diego (founded 1769) to Monterey in 1770, crossed this region and saw only swamps, plains, and mountains, inhabited by scattered Indians. And it was not until 1781, after the settlement of San José and other communities, that the villa of Los

Angeles was founded. To three Spanish soldiers—Domínguez, Nieto, Verdugo—in 1784 was granted most of the vast acreage surrounding the new settlement.

Leading the life of colonial *hacendados*, the trio devoted their limitless fields to raising cattle, producing what was needed for their own homely existence, and occasionally bartering hides and tallow for foreign goods brought in by smugglers, whalers or Spanish ships.

This rustic life continued for a generation with little interruption; the original grantees aged and died, their lands being divided among numerous progeny. Meanwhile, Spanish rule gave way to Mexican, and the arm of Mexico, never strong in remote frontier colonies, began to wither. Traders and settlers from the States filtered in, and were suddenly catapulted to power by the guns of the Mexican War and the "Gold Rush."

With them came the decline of California's Spanish patriarchs. Land sharks, money lenders, adventurers—all made their inroads on the old families' holdings, even after the United States Federal Land Commission of 1851 recognized validity of the Spanish titles. Bankruptcy and ruin of the pioneers followed and a new era dawned. Large estates became real estate promotions. Now and then the bubbles burst, but people continued to come, towns were born and became cities—until today several million Californians live on the lands of Dominguez, Nieto, and Verdugo.

This story has been simply and popularly told by Mr. Robinson in his fascinating book. No encyclopedia burdened with detail, it presents a clear picture, definitely marking the outlines of Southern California's phenomenal growth.

GEORGE P. HAMMOND.

University of New Mexico.

The Black Jacobins. Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution. By CYRIL LIONEL ROBERT JAMES. (New York: The Dial Press, 1938. Pp. 316. Bibliography. Index. \$3.75.)

This book explores ground surveyed by T. Lothrop Stoddard twenty-five years ago, but with the class struggle replacing race conflict as the point of reference. The author is British, Negro, and Marxist, and it is not surprising to find in his work frequent allusion to world revolution and British imperialism in East Africa, leading ultimately from history to prophecy. No more, he says, than French colonists of 1798 could recognize Toussaint L'Ouverture in the foreman of Bréda can British colonials of 1938 imagine the genius and leadership latent in the black masses surrounding them, but it will

appear when the man and the hour are met. The hour will be determined by proletarian revolution in Europe, as Haiti's hour was struck by the intervention of the masses in the French Revolution.

Meanwhile the Haitian Revolution can be made the basis of an interesting study of the dependence of the masses on leadership and the reciprocal dependence of leadership on the masses. Because of his personality and advantages, Toussaint L'Ouverture could lead his bewildered people to great achievements, but he could neither launch the revolution nor complete it, being, in the last analysis, too bourgeois to take his followers into his confidence or to perceive the final goal. Dessalines, unfit for L'Ouverture's rôle, nevertheless had the strength and perception required to complete the task because he was a true man of the people.

One cannot expect cold objectivity in a Negro Marxist dealing with this subject (and indeed the author makes it plain that he would not regard that quality as a virtue), but let no one be frightened away from a good book on that account. It may be doubted whether any man could write with complete detachment of so passionate an affair as the Haitian Revolution. None ever has. This work has more of clarity and insight (and one may also say, of fairness) than any that has come to the reviewer's notice.

The author's sympathies and frame of reference are evident, but he tells his story with more restraint than can generally be found in works on this subject by others less plainly labeled. His judgments on Haitian men and events (which are all that concerns us) are balanced and acute. He neither idolizes his heroes nor presents their foes as fiends, but instead exposes human motives in each case with discernment. Written with spirit, his account is vivid, but he does not dwell unduly on the horrors of a peculiarly atrocious struggle which have tempted others to mere sensationalism. He finds his way with skill through kaleidoscopic sequences of events in both Haiti and France, achieving clarity where complexities of class, color, and section have reduced others to vague confusion.

Mr. James uses footnotes sparingly, but such as appear indicate a considerable acquaintance with archival material. Some of his conclusions—notably the thesis that Toussaint L'Ouverture would never have come into conflict with France had not France herself betrayed the Revolution—may be open to question, but on the whole the book is an illuminating study, provocative if not definitive.

LUDWELL LEE MONTAGUE,

Virginia Military Institute.

Haiti, The Calvary of a Soldier. By COL. D. P. CALIXTE. (New York: Wendell Malliet and Company, 1939. Pp. 125. \$1.25.)

In August, 1934, this reviewer, who had been a severe critic of many phases of the American Occupation of Haiti, witnessed with pleasure the formal ceremony in Port-au-Prince at which Colonel Calixte assumed command of the *Garde d'Haiti*. Some Americans began immediately to predict that, as soon as the Marines were withdrawn, there would be a renewal of revolutions and a gradual return to the corruption and inefficiency that had too frequently characterized the pre-Occupation period. There have been no serious uprisings. According to Colonel Calixte, however, a general deterioration has set in since the departure of the Marines. He alleges, in fact, that the American Military Mission was necessitated by gross irregularities in the *Garde*. "Every one knows about the embezzlement of national and local funds by politicians and officials," he charges (p. 39), "but it cannot be printed in the papers." Only the Agricultural and Rural Education Service, now under a young American-educated Haitian, seems in his opinion to offer a bit of hope. President Vincent, who was elected president in 1930 largely because of his opposition to the American Occupation, has become strongly pro-American and, since 1935, has established a virtual dictatorship. While there seems to be some foundation for these last charges, the author points out that President Vincent has publicly announced that he will not be a candidate for a third term.

Although the charges made by Colonel Calixte have the ring of sincerity, they are largely undocumented. On one score at least, this reviewer believes that the author has been unduly harsh. President Vincent told the reviewer in 1934 that the Haitian government had a revenue of some six million dollars, about two millions of which went for the service of the American debt. "What can we do with a per capita expenditure of about \$1.33?" the President inquired. Obviously, not even a financial genius could lift the Haitian standard of living to a very high level with so small an expenditure.

The latter part of the book is devoted to evidence tending to show that the author was not involved in the abortive revolt of December 12, 1937, as a consequence of which he is now living his "Calvary" in the United States.

RAYFORD W. LOGAN.

Howard University.

The Chinantec and Their Habitat. By BERNARD BEVAN. Vol. I, *The Chinantec*. Report on the Central and South Eastern Chinantec Region. (Mexico: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Publication No. 24, 1938. Pp. 161.)

This publication presents information on one of the isolated and little-known people of Mexico. The ethnographic facts, obtained in the course of five journeys to the eastern slope of the Sierra Madre in northern Oaxaca, were apparently drawn from observation and conversations with natives; most of the settlements of the area were visited but none was studied intensively; there is therefore no case material. The chief topics represented are the habitat, the technology and manner of livelihood, the form of village government and religious institutions and practices. As a work of ethnological pioneering, the monograph deserves commendation. It furthermore includes tables showing the relative amounts of monolinguality in Mexican Indian groups, a catalog of manuscript and printed sources on the Chinantec, and translations of little-known early colonial documents on these people. The work is badly printed and the index is poor.

To the ethnographic data the author has related a surprising amount of historical material from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources. Moreover, the explorers found still in use by these Indians a number of manuscripts, some of which probably date from the early seventeenth century. They are written in Chinantec, and contain sermons and moral lessons. The great similarity of several versions of the same sermon, although these were written at different times, indicates that all go back to a single early missionary source. A certain sermon is still read and venerated in the Catholic liturgy as it was provided by missionaries three hundred years ago or more. Striking is the fact that these people, so isolated in their tropical jungle that they do not keep pack animals because horses and mules cannot cross the suspension bridges that provide entrance to their country, preserve faithfully Catholic usages taught them in the sixteenth century, while, so far as the author discovered, there is little of the pagan religion left except the nineteen "month" agricultural calendar. The Zapotec, neighbors of the Chinantec, a progressive and commercial group, keep more of the pagan culture. The most isolated group is not necessarily the least modified group. This report adds substance to our impression that once the great shock of conquest, conversion and depopulation by disease was over in Middle America, the tendency of the thereafter isolated Indian peoples was to continue with little change forms of living, especially in Catholic religious ritual, inculcated in early colonial times. In some very isolated regions, the destruction of paganism

was more thorough than in some less isolated regions. The reviewer has material from Yucatán and Quintana Roo consistent with this conclusion.

ROBERT REDFIELD.

The University of Chicago.

Indian Arts in North America. By GEORGE C. VAILLANT. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1939. Pp. 63 + 96 illustrations. \$5.00.)

Meeting the ever increasing demand for a popular and authentic work on the arts of the American Indian, George C. Vaillant presents an attractive volume of ninety-six full page plates selected mainly from photographs of tribal arts by Konrad Cramer, and illustrating objects of pre-Columbian and recent origin, from every corner of the North American field.

Only in recent years have the arts of our native Americans been accorded recognition for their unique value in aesthetics. Until the pioneer display of the Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts in New York, as absurdly recent as 1931, one had to look for such objects exhibited as a part of ethnologic materials in museums of natural history. Not until then did art museums venture to offer, sparingly, notable examples of indigenous arts of the Latin Americas—thus preparing our country at large for so startling an innovation as the inclusion of sculpturés, ceramics, jewelry and other native crafts of the American Indian for serious consideration among the arts of old world races.

Contemplation of the varied sources and styles of art portrayed in his plates has led the author to prepare a concise and stimulating foreword in which he discusses under separate heads the nature, the background, and the origin of the various regional types in their development before and after white contacts. His well-considered treatise invites further study of such contrasting arts as the ancient shell carving of the Southeast, the wooden masks of British Columbia, and the ceramics, textiles and silver of the Southwest. Toward this end he has appended an excellent bibliography for each of the nine distinct culture areas. Preceding the plates, a pictorial map with an accompanying correlation of regional culture trends serves to orient the reader in his study of tribal contributions to the corpus of American Indian art. Unfortunately the accuracy of this feature is not maintained further on, where geographic details are scrambled in citing the provenience of certain specimens and styles from the Southwest.

Vaillant's appraisal of the essential qualities of each art shows a thoughtful approach coupled with the keenest appreciation of the freedom attained by the individual artist and manifest against the

inevitable background of tribal tradition. He accords full recognition to achievements in pure design, preëminent in the arts of our First Americans and permeating even sculpture and ceramics, where he finds it has "a warmth, a personal quality" almost lost in contemporary European production.

Of the pictorial arts the author says: "The spectacular liberation of the Plains Indian with the resultant opportunities for dramatic prowess demanded a pictorial record, and a lively, even if crude, style of drawing developed, with a curious blending of naturalistic observation with conventional standards of reproduction." And in contrast he adds: "We have seen how the modern Pueblo could shake off the conventions of ritual drawing to evolve under white stimulus a fresh and free art, tethered lightly to the past."

Illuminating such pertinent observations, the plates give full realization of the long overlooked values inherent in such a varied art. Here at last is a work comparable with those by European scholars on the primitive arts of many races, which serve so well to promote appreciation of such refreshing source material. The appearance of further works of this nature on the Indian arts of each region will be awaited by many who, with the author, see possibilities of their influence on our gradually evolving, truly national art.

KENNETH M. CHAPMAN.

Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Proceedings of the Second Convention of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association. (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1939. Pp. 331. \$5.00.)

In the ambitious program of publication of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association this volume is the second in the second series, a series devoted exclusively to publication of the proceedings of the annual conventions. Dedicated to the memory of Dr. James Alexander Robertson, one of the founders of the Association, it is published under a Memorial Publication Fund which bears his name. The task of editing these proceedings of the Association was undertaken by its president, A. Curtis Wilgus.

Thirty-one speeches and papers appear in five groups: introduction, bibliography, libraries, archives, and miscellaneous. In addition the volume contains the program and resolutions of the convention, and lists of the officers and registrants of the Association, and of the contributors to the James A. Robertson Memorial Publication Fund.

In close proximity appear definitions and expositions of bibliography by Leland, Paltsits, Richardson, and Hanke. Interesting and

enlightening comparisons of the views of these authorities may for this reason be made. Some of the papers deal with library administration and coöperation, while others include valuable lists of books and articles. Four articles emphasize the importance of and the need for children's books. Several articles offer very useful information on the facilities of organizations such as the Inter-American Book Exchange, the American Documentation Institute, and the Inter-American Center of Bibliography of the Pan-American Union.

Like all books this one has some deficiencies. Two of the articles seem to indicate primarily the fault-finding propensities of the authors. Certain minor mistakes appear such as the reference to Rafael Heliodoro Valle as Honduran on page 289 and as Mexican on pages 9 and 326, the omission of the title of the last paper in the table of contents, and rarely, a grammatical error as in the footnote on page 267.

To a very large circle of readers interested in the Americas the variety of viewpoints and of subject matter of the volume assures its attractiveness.

ALMON R. WRIGHT.

The National Archives.

An Eye-Witness of Mexico. By R. H. K. MARETT. (London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1939. Pp. xi, 268. \$3.00.)

This is an account by a British citizen who went to Mexico and spent about seven years connected with various business interests, chiefly railroad and petroleum companies. After spending some time in the country he married a young lady of one of the wealthy old Mexican families. Thus his personal contacts were clearly conservative.

With a facile pen (at times he acted as correspondent for the *London Times*) and a cultured background he introduces his account with an intelligent and unusually good survey of the Indian people and archeological remains of Mexico. He considers the Indian the "problem child" of the nation, who, by virtue of the effects of the Revolution has acquired an unusual position of power and has developed a premature self-consciousness. By way of contrast the situation of the fine old families of the country, with their happy-go-lucky and careless management of personal financial affairs, but their paternal control of haciendas and peons is shown.

This old system is admitted to be passing as estate after estate is

confiscated in accordance with the spirit of the Revolution which unsparingly denounces feudalism. The immediate failure of the new economic system is pictured as a logical outcome. The Laguna experiment is particularly criticized, even though the author frankly admits that the experiment is "not entirely without its hopeful features": the real question being whether the new system can evolve to a position of self-support before inefficiency brings about its complete collapse.

All through the volume are numerous episodes showing a truly surprising knowledge of Mexican social and economic life. These vary all the way from what might be termed a "wild-cat" mining venture and a "flier" in real estate, to experiences with foreign-owned big business.

It was while the writer was connected with a large petroleum company and was residing on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec that the petroleum companies were nationalized. Mexican court procedure is severely condemned as little better than political chicanery, though President Cárdenas is unhesitatingly credited with being a really sincere man.

The last chapter provides an unusual analysis of the influence of the position of the United States in Mexican affairs and the importance of President F. D. Roosevelt and his policies. Then follow estimates of the success of the Revolution. As for the petroleum policy, it is considered utterly illegal but nevertheless Mr. Maret comes to the conclusion that "so far, so good" and that it has not been the failure that might have been expected. All in all, Cárdenas "is perhaps the first Mexican President in history who has fulfilled his election-pledges" and "is perhaps the most democratic President Mexico has ever seen."

The author sympathizes and approves the "genuine aspirations of an emergent nationality," but he condemns "an act of international robbery on the scale of that recently perpetrated by Mexico." Around this contrast revolves the theme of the whole volume. The account is well written and indexed, and provides much that is really worth while in leading to an approximation of the Mexico of today. The writer's calmness and detachment in writing of events in which he was personally involved commands applause and stamps this most readable account as one of unusual value. Would that we had more such!

W. H. CALLCOTT.

University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.

Vicente Guerrero, Mexican Liberator. A Study in Patriotism. By WILLIAM FORREST SPRAGUE. (Chicago: R. R. Donnelly and Sons, 1939. Pp. xii, 178. \$3.00.)

No adequate biography of Vicente Guerrero exists in any language, and none at all in English. For this reason Dr. Sprague's work, though not definitive, is a welcome addition to the literature on one of the important leaders of the war for independence in Mexico. The biography is brief, like Guerrero's career. The Mexican warrior died before he reached fifty and lived in obscurity until he was twenty-eight. For a decade he fought as a guerrilla mainly in the mountains of southern Mexico. For another decade he served in the army. For a brief period he was a member of the plural executive power of the nation and for a few months he was Mexico's president. Deposed from the latter position at the end of 1830, he returned to his southern mountains and soon joined in an uprising against those who had driven him from power. On February 14, 1831, he died at the hands of a firing squad.

Guerrero probably contributed as much as any other warrior to the independence of Mexico. When others were captured and executed or induced to accept pardons and lay down their arms, he managed to live and continue the struggle. His motivations, the ideals which sustained him, are not clearly and fully revealed by Dr. Sprague. Perhaps patriotism (nationalism) and the removal of class discriminations were more potent than any other. According to the customary parlance of historians he was a liberal, with political and civil equality as his main objectives. As a statesman he was largely a failure; as a warrior his achievements were noteworthy.

His career was more consistent than that of the average Mexican leader of the first half of the nineteenth century. Guerrero was not a turncoat. With reference to public finances he appears to have been more honest than the average. Doctor Sprague fails, however, to explain how the insurgent leader acquired his holdings in real estate. Guerrero seems to have been a mule driver until he joined the war for independence in 1810, and in 1821 he was deeply in debt. Yet he had a small fortune when he died a decade later.

The author does not present an intimate portrait of Guerrero. Perhaps adequate sources are not available. Having collected scraps of information from a wide variety of sources, Doctor Sprague sets down his facts mainly in chronological order. He states that his purpose was to include only such items in the environment as were required to explain the man. In some instances he failed to include

enough. The reader does not learn of the existence of Negro slaves in Mexico until the author tells him that Guerrero freed them. Doctor Sprague indicates, as already noted, that Guerrero was in a sense engaged in a class conflict, but he frequently fails to identify the various leaders by stating the race or caste to which they belonged.

Errors of historical facts are few. The "residue of Spanish power" did not "vanish" from the two continents of America in 1823 (p. 55), nor was Panama a part of the colonial captaincy-general of Guatemala (p. 132). But these statements were only incidental to the main biographical theme. There are also a number of misprints and the index is inadequate, consisting of only four pages.

The major defects of the book relate to style and interpretation. Antecedents of pronouns are not always clear and occasionally the author is not happy in his choice of words. One may note for instance that Doctor Sprague writes of the "formulation" of a congress (p. 22) and the "presentment" of passports (p. 70), and employs the word "apathy" to convey a variety of meanings.

Only a specialist will have the fortitude to read this small volume. Yet, in view of the scarcity of information on the subject, it is a contribution of considerable value.

J. FRED RIPPY.

The University of Chicago.

Crónica de las Provincias Internas de la Nueva España. By FERNANDO OCARANZA. (Mexico: Editorial Polis, 1939. Pp. 356.)

A day should come when the Provincias Internas (interior, or frontier, provinces) of New Spain will be as familiar to students of United States history as the New England or Middle Atlantic states. Comprising what are now United States territory from California to Texas and the northern tier of Mexican states from Baja (or Lower) California to Nuevo León and Tamaulipas, they were a vital area in what has become, in its northerly reaches, the Southwest and Pacific coast of the United States. Without these regions, just how great a country would the United States be?

For centuries, this northern frontier was the danger-point of the vice-royalty of New Spain. The Spanish conquest swept north to that region in a comparatively few years, but was never altogether effective there. There were too many hard-fighting Indians for them to dominate it completely. It was there, too, that fear of foreign attack—French, English, Russian—most often centered, lest these territories

might become a base for an invasion of the rich mining provinces just south of the frontier group. Fear of foreign danger, indeed, was generally the principal reason for Spain's desire to control the provinces of the north, as a buffer area, as it were; at any rate, if the Spaniards were already there, others could not oust them without at least risking war, which might be considered a too great cost. These considerations led eventually to the establishment of a separate Spanish government, or commandancy-general, for the Provincias Internas, dating from 1776.

Ocaranza's volume is by no means a broad history of this area. Rather, it is a set of casual notes touching upon it, from the sixteenth to the close of the eighteenth century. The author appears to have browsed around among the documents of the Biblioteca Nacional of Mexico City, taking notes on any that he found which touched the region of the Provincias Internas. Later, he chronologized his notes, and publishes them here. If he did not find anything about any particular episode or condition, then they do not appear. Thus, nearly all of the thirty-four chapters deal with the eighteenth century. Sources are not cited, except that at the end of each chapter Señor Ocaranza faithfully tells us that his "*fuentes*" were from "*manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional*." In other words, the volume is a compilation of miscellaneous information about the Provincias Internas, much of it little known and quite valuable, as seen through the eyes of Señor Ocaranza. The Marqués de Aguayo, Gaspar de la Rama, Jacobo de Castro, José de Leyza, the Barón de Riperdá, Hugo O'Connor, Atanasio DeMezières, the Marqués de Rubí, and Juan Gasiot are a few of the names appearing in chapter titles which may tempt investigators to a more detailed examination of this book.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

University of California,
Berkeley

Architectural Byways in New Spain: Mexico. By A. L. MURPHY VHAY and DAVID VHAY. (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co., 1939. Pp. x, 182. Photographs and measured drawings. \$8.00.)

The praiseworthy aim of the architects who present this first volume in a projected series on Mexico, Central America, and South America—Mrs. A. L. Murphy Vhay and Mr. David Vhay of Santa Barbara, California—is to perpetuate while there is yet time some representative examples of minor architecture of the colonial period which have survived the ravages of alteration and neglect. For the

most part it has been the impressive civic and ecclesiastical structures in Mexico which have received prior notice from archaeologists, just as prominent political and religious figures have often been first to hold the attention of historians. Now, to a growing body of illustrative material on the better known monuments is added this small volume on what might be termed the common men among colonial buildings. Elsewhere in the world, such lesser examples from each historic period have been lost to be recorded and, because they lacked the measure of permanent significance and sustaining care implied by government or church ownership, earliest to disappear. The unfortunate gaps which are thus left among the sources for the study of Old World architectural history, it is already too late to fill in, but such timely activity as the current project represents can still contribute much to future students of New World civilization.

Despite this underlying importance of the project to historians and archaeologists, the book itself is addressed primarily to practising architects, for whom the text is confined to a brief foreword of historical and geographical orientation among the dozen states under consideration. Some readers of this section will look in vain for a convenient location map; others will raise their eyebrows over the spasmodic use of orthographic accents, and more especially over the misspelled name of an individual like Bartolomé de las Casas.

Of the 250 halftones and measured drawings which make up the bulk of the book, the latter comprise about one-tenth. These illustrations are arranged, after the manner of other publications for the practitioner, according to subject matter: doorways; windows; balconies; portales; patios and courtyards; fountains and wells; village churches and chapels; façades of houses, convents, and the like; and miscellaneous details, from kitchens to *citarillas*. Within these classifications a geographical sequence is followed, to correspond in general with that of the foreword, but no stylistic ordering seems to have been attempted.

Architects and archaeologists alike may well hope that in the succeeding volumes of the series a more uniform standard of photographic quality will be achieved. To them, no possible expansion of text nor multiplication of measured drawings can make up for the lack of precise definition in visual documents. But for many persons of less specialized demands, the illustrations taken as a whole will furnish a vivid panorama of the domestic scene in colonial Mexico.

LOUISE HALL.

Duke University.

Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca: The Journey and Route of the First European to cross the Continent of North America. By CLEVE HALLENBECK. (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1940. Pp. 326. 9 maps and charts. \$6.00.)

One of the most fascinating games a man can play is the tracing of Cabeza de Vaca's journey across North America. The *Naufragios* of Cabeza de Vaca, and the joint report of the travellers, paraphrased in Oviedo's history, give us a mass of indications, of the most varied sort. The well equipped player of the game should know intimately half of Texas, and southern New Mexico and Arizona, and an enormous slice of Mexico. He should be topographer, geologist, botanist, zoölogist, climatologist, and ethnologist. He should be an historian, competent to consult the old records in Spanish. Most of all, he should have a large endowment of common sense. For his task will be the weighing of imponderables and the reconciliation of irreconcilables.

Mr. Hallenbeck, to an extraordinary and unhoped-for degree, possesses all these qualifications. He has produced the best informed and best argued study of Cabeza de Vaca's route that has ever been made.

It is not, perhaps, absolutely definitive. In order to make everything fit, Mr. Hallenbeck has to make omissions, emendations, and forced interpretations of his texts. He supposes a misprint in the *Naufragios* (p. 174); he assumes that some passages are retrospections or forecasts, out of their chronological place (pp. 192, 198). He thus leaves the way open for someone else to make other revisions of the narrative, and on a newly ordered text to propose another route.

The fact is that a reconciliation of all the data is impossible. We must believe that Cabeza de Vaca was, naturally enough, occasionally forgetful, confused, or mistaken. The good or bad judgment of the student will reveal itself in what he chooses to disregard.

Mr. Hallenbeck's judgment is excellent. He assembles all his data and considers them soberly before venturing a conclusion, instead of appealing to the data for confirmation of a theory. His conclusions seem regularly to be based on the weight of evidence.

Mr. Hallenbeck's exhaustive method will appear in an example. Early in the great journey, Cabeza de Vaca got lost in the wilds, in mid-October, and slept naked for five nights. He describes his fortunate preservation from death by the cold. Mr. Hallenbeck, with a devotion to truth rare even among historians, tried sleeping naked in a Texas October, and after the tests upon his own *corpus vile*, determined that he was disagreeably chilled at 54 degrees. A study of the climatic records of Texas convinced him that Cabeza de Vaca must

have been well to the north of the point charted by previous writers, including myself.

The route on which he settles runs roughly northwest from Galveston Island along the Colorado to Big Spring, then south of west to the Pecos, and up the Pecos to Carlsbad. He rounds the north end of the Sacramento Mountains, and turns south to El Paso. He ascends the Río Grande to Rincón, then goes west and south through Arizona to the Mexican border at San Bernardino. Thenceforward he accepts the routing of Dr. Carl Sauer in his *Road to Cibola*. It may be noticed that the Hallenbeck route takes the travellers at two points farther north than any other writer has proposed.

The book includes a seventy-page summary of the *Naufragios*, and an extended criticism of the routes traced by others. Mr. Hallenbeck makes no reference to the reconstruction of the journey by Dr. Robert T. Hill, in the Dallas *Morning News*, in 1933 and 1934. There is not much coincidence in the conclusions of the two; but Dr. Hill at least agrees with Mr. Hallenbeck in taking his travellers northwest to the neighborhood of Austin.

Mr. Hallenbeck has not settled the problem of Cabeza de Vaca's route, for, in the nature of things, it can never be settled. He has, however, established a case based on the strongest of presumptions. All writers of secondary works will do well to accept his conclusions, at least provisionally. The Hallenbeck-Sauer route will stand as the most probable one, until some other student can show us a better. The first task of such a student will be to overthrow Mr. Hallenbeck's arguments. He will have to bring to the task the equal of Mr. Hallenbeck's knowledge, industry, and understanding. Do I hear anyone speak?

MORRIS BISHOP.

Cornell University.

BOOK NOTICES

La literatura del Perú. By LUIS ALBERTO SÁNCHEZ. (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de la Universidad, 1939. Pp. 189.)

The title of this book is not well chosen; instead of *La literatura del Perú* it should have been called *Conferencias sobre literatura peruana*. As a history of the literature of Perú the present volume is rather thin and inadequate. As a series of public lectures it has the light touch and *esprit* peculiar to all this author's work. Sánchez is a creative writer who has taught Latin-American Literature in several institutions. His style is terse, crisp, if somewhat irregular and abrupt. He is a primitive force uncontrolled by discipline but he has a sense of the dramatic in literature. The scholarly attitude is seldom present in his work; he accepts secondary materials even when he might have gone to the authentic sources.

Sánchez tries to cover the whole field of Peruvian letters from the earlier years of the Colony (Garcilaso de la Vega) to the contemporary poets of the group "Amauta" and the novelists of the Chaco war. His most important contribution is his personal knowledge of modern writers and the fact that he himself is a good representative of the social and literary ideology of his country.

Sánchez has a vast knowledge of Spanish-American literature, especially of the Peruvian field, but as he has been living in exile for several years he has had no peace of mind and little time to coördinate his materials. Nevertheless, his *Literatura del Perú* is a book of fine literary intuition and gives first-hand information about authors and schools.

ARTURO TORRES RIOSECO.

Columbia University.

La literatura del Uruguay. By ALBERTO ZUM FELDE. (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de la Universidad, 1939. Pp. 143.)

This is a companion volume to Alberto Sánchez' *La literatura del Perú*. Again we have here a series of lectures given at the Institute of Latin-American Culture of the University of Buenos Aires, and of course this book shows the shortcomings inherent in such method of exposition. However, Zum Felde has a more definite plan than Sánchez and a more systematic arrangement. In the six chapters of this

book—From the Colony to the Romantic movement; Contemporary evolution; The novel; The short story, The theater; The lyric poetry and The essay—Zum Felde has been able to give us a commendable picture of Uruguayan letters.

It is a pity that the leading literary figures of this country, such as Magariños Cervantes, Acevedo Díaz, Carlos Reyles, Horacio Quiroga, Florencio Sánchez, José Enrique Rodó, Carlos Vaz Ferreira, and Julio Herrera y Reissig should deserve less than two pages from the pen of Zum Felde and we feel that he should have given them more space even if he had had to omit some minor figures.

As a brief introduction to the literature of Uruguay the reader will find the present book quite suitable. Although Zum Felde does not have the brilliant stylistic gifts of Sánchez, his exposition is always clear and precise and he possesses a literary common sense that is not always present in the works of Spanish-American critics.

The Institute of Latin-American Culture of the University of Buenos Aires announces two more "Panoramas" for the near future, those of Brasil and Chile. We hope that their authors—Tristado de Athayde and Mariano Latorre—realize the difference between a series of lectures and a literary history.

ARTURO TORRES RIOSECO.

Columbia University.

Juárez y sus amigos. Colección de ensayos. By FERNANDO OCARANZA. (Mexico. 1939. Pp. 236.)

This collection of essays is not an effort to give a biography of the friends of the celebrated Indian president of Mexico, Benito Juárez; or to treat them chronologically. The purpose appears to be to appraise the services which these friends rendered the cause for which Benito Juárez and they labored. The essays themselves are fragmentary. Some friends receive more detailed treatment than the others.

Nineteen friends in all are treated. The preface devotes considerable space to the negotiations which resulted in the McLane-Ocampo Treaty of 1859; and to the probable results of the same to both Mexico and the United States had the latter country also ratified the treaty. The rôle of Matías Acosta in the negotiations is dealt with in an interesting manner. There is nothing particularly new or penetrating in these essays. They are, however, interesting and serve to emphasize the importance of the period under consideration, one of the most significant periods in the whole history of Mexico.

The first friend to be dealt with is William R. Henry. Ocaranza explains that Henry cannot be considered in the same class with the

other friends of Benito Juárez. Henry was a Texan, sheriff of Bexar County at the time, a great admirer of the *Reforma*, and an open and hostile critic of all who opposed the *Reforma*. Several interesting documents are given in this connection, many of which are of much importance. None of them are new, although the "Circular to the Citizens of the Free States of Nuevo León and Tamaulipas" gives a good insight into ideas of its author. The other friends dealt with are: Santos Degollado, Porfirio Díaz in 1859, Felipe Arce y Pesado, Santiago Vicario, Miguel López, Justo Benítez, José María Mata, Manuel Gutiérrez Zamora, Juan José de la Garza, José María del Río, Ezequiel Montes, Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, Matías Castellanos, Ángel Albino Corzo, Felipe Ferriozabal, Juan José Baz, Esteban Castillo, and Miguel Castro. It was natural that Degollado, Mata, Lerdo de Tejada, and Díaz should receive greater treatment than the others. Again in the treatment of each of these there is nothing either new or penetrating.

The reviewer finds no really good reason why this collection of essays should have been published at all. The collection, like too much that is written among us, is rather superficial. Ocaranza feels, perhaps, like so many of our writers, that he might err on the side of presenting too many ideas on a given page. Hence he does, as many of our writers do in the field of Latin-American history, content himself with the spreading of an idea over several pages. The reviewer finds it hard to excuse Ocaranza for failing to treat some of the men who must have been of very great usefulness to Benito Juárez and the cause of reform. There is nothing of any importance about Álvarez, Ortega, or even Matías Romero, all of whom rendered services of the greatest importance to the cause in which Benito Juárez enlisted. The author might have profited from a reference to Jorge Fernando Iturribarria's *Historia de Oaxaca, 1821-1854*.

The paper is good as is the printing; but the binding is quite poor and is in paper. There is an index, brief but better than none.

N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN.

University of Pittsburgh.

San Miguel de Allende: Su historia. Sus monumentos. By FRANCISCO DE LA MAZA. (Mexico: Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1939. Pp. 221. Illus.)

From the founding of the mission by that frail Franciscan, Juan de San Miguel, pious priest, artist, and man of learning, through its cultural evolution and historical events, the author has given us a colorful pageant of men and incidents in San Miguel, Indian mission,

frontier presidio, commercial settlement, and revolutionary center. He has described its economic development from pastoral to industrial, emphasizing the manufacture of superb serapes, steel blades, and leather goods.

San Miguel de Allende is a veritable museum of colonial architecture and is well deserving of the plan to make it a national monument. Together with detailed descriptions of churches, chapels, monasteries and schools, the author has given us the story of their founders, architects, artists, and patrons.

The greatest space is given to the war for independence (71 pages). Allende, Aldama, Hidalgo, Iturbide, and Mina march through. Don Ignacio Allende, as the promoter of the revolution, is given more credit than is usual, not to deprive Hidalgo of his fame, but to give Allende the fame he deserves, says the author. Other notables are given thumbnail sketches.

The book is divided into five parts, without much unity; it has occasional footnotes, a short bibliography, and a classified table of contents, but no index. Forty-two of its forty-four illustrations picture the art and style of San Miguel's remarkable architecture, but not all are equally well reproduced. The author does not hesitate to make decisions concerning controversial points, and corrects some of "the numerous errors of the illustrious Alamán."

He has justly considered the "artistic and historic past" of San Miguel "a beautiful and illustrious theme."

JOHN RYDJORD.

Municipal University of Wichita.

Francisco del Paso y Troncoso. Su misión en Europa, 1892-1916.

Edited by SILVIO ZAVALA. (México: Departamento Autónomo de Prensa y Publicidad, 1938. Pp. xx, 644).

This volume, a publication of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía, presents the record of the work of Francisco del Paso y Troncoso during his mission in Europe to secure and edit documentary material concerning Mexican history. The introduction by Dr. Zavala is a brief biography of Paso y Troncoso. The body of the volume (pp. 1-331) consists of 177 letters and documents, arranged in groups, pertaining to the mission. The first two groups relate to (a) the administrative and scientific development of the mission, and (b) the salaries and expenses. Three others comprise correspondence regarding the mission with (c) the Mexican minister in Italy, (d) Aquiles Gerste, and (e) various persons. Of the two final groups of documents, one deals with the publication of works prepared by Paso

y Troncoso and the other with the measures taken after his death by the Mexican Government to secure his papers. The appendices (pp. 335-604) contain a bibliography of the publications of Paso y Troncoso, indexes of the documents copied from the Spanish archives, and lists of notes, papers, inedited manuscripts, photocopies, and maps accumulated by him. All the materials included in the work are now in the Museo Nacional. The book is an interesting account of the problems, difficulties, and results of a long-time historical mission to European archives and libraries. It is well edited and published in an attractive form.

ROSCOE R. HILL

The National Archives.

Documents on American Foreign Relations: January 1938—June 1939. Edited by S. SHEPHERD JONES and DENYS P. MYERS. (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1939. Pp. xxvi, 582. \$3.75.)

This is a reference book designed primarily for the use of teachers, students, editorial writers and lecturers who require ready access to significant speeches of the President and the Secretary of State, to contemporary diplomatic correspondence between the United States and other powers, to treaties, acts of the American Congress and to statistical data.

The book is issued as the first of a series of annual volumes to appear early each autumn setting forth a documentary record for the year ending June 30 preceding. As indicated in the title, this, the first volume, covers a period of 18 months. In succeeding years this new series should prove to be a worthy supplement to the annual volumes entitled *The United States in World Affairs* published for the Council on Foreign Relations.

Part I of the volume under review contains some of the principal public statements by the President, Secretary of State, and Under Secretaries touching the general field of principles and policy.

Part II opens with more than 100 pages dealing with inter-American relations including documents covering: The Eighth International Conference of American States, Lima, 1938; coöperation among American republics; special missions to the American republics; the Chaco Settlement; Mexican expropriation of American properties; and relations between the United States and individual Latin-American republics. There is a lengthy section devoted to the conflict in the Far East; another to relations with Europe; and special sections on trade, finance, and the problem of political refugees.

Part III entitled "National Action" covers such topics as: national defense, neutrality and peace legislation. An extensive appendix includes useful statistical material on such subjects as: Americans living abroad, passport statistics, immigration visa statistics, and balance of international payments of the United States.

P. H. C.

New Roads to Riches in the Other Americas. By EDWARD TOMLINSON. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939. Pp. xvi, 438. \$3.75.)

This work by an able journalist of the United States is misnamed. It deals only in part with economic opportunities in Panama and the five Bolivarian states of South America. It is rather a rapid survey of the whole contemporary scene in these six countries. Sounder than most books of this type, it is valuable as a source presented by a good eye-witness. Mr. Tomlinson observes in the nations he visited no *El Dorado* and few opportunities for the speedy accumulation of riches, but he thinks the prospects are good for men of industry and technical or managerial skill. Neither does he observe any serious Fascist threat. Well written and amply illustrated, it is one of the best volumes of its kind that has appeared in the last few years.

J. F. R.

The Mexican Challenge. By FRANK L. KLUCKHOHN. (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1939. Pp. 296. \$2.50.)

From an American reporter summarily expelled from Mexico one could not expect an unbiased book. Yet the present volume is at least not violently partisan. It is a discussion of the merits and defects of the Mexican Revolution and something of a protest against the treatment of foreign capitalists, especially those with investments in oil. What the "challenge" is Mr. Kluckhohn does not clearly reveal. Presumably it is a challenge to capitalism and the democratic way of life as pursued in England and the United States—a challenge that it is difficult for the government at Washington to meet without impairing its cordial relations with the rest of Latin America. If perused with caution and good judgment the volume may contribute to a better understanding of recent Mexican history and particularly the expropriation issue.

J. F. R.

Financial Questions in United States Foreign Policy. By JAMES W. GANTENBEIN. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. xiv, 264. \$3.25.)

Although the major portion of this volume relates to other parts of the world, considerable space is given the recent relations of the United States with Latin America. In that region the United States had confronted the problems of exchange instability and exchange control as well as the problem of defaults on bond issues. The policies of the United States with reference to these matters are summarized as adequately as the revealed documents will permit. The student in search of greater detail must look elsewhere for information. Mr. Gantenbein's bibliography contains useful suggestions for further research.

J. F. R.

Los Pactos de Bucareli. El Tratado de la Mesilla. By LIC. SALVADOR DIEGO-FERNÁNDEZ. (Mexico, D. F.: Ed. Polis, 1937. Pp. 78.)

These two brief essays deal with the negotiations of 1923-1926 between the United States and Mexico in respect to claims and petroleum and the agreement of 1937 between the two nations by the terms of which the privileges ceded by the treaty of 1853 (the Gadsden Treaty or the Treaty of Mesilla) to the United States with reference to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec were renounced in the interest of the policy of the Good Neighbor. The remarks of the author with reference to both subjects are rather caustic. He resents the concessions demanded of Álvaro Obregón as the price of recognition by the United States, and he contends that the privileges conceded by the Gadsden Treaty had already expired by virtue of the express terms of that agreement as well as because of the failure of citizens of the United States to construct a means of communication across Tehuantepec.

J. F. R.

Nuestro derecho internacional. Sinopsis de tratados y anotaciones históricas. By JOSÉ RODRÍGUEZ CERNA. (Guatemala City: Tip. Nacional, 1938. Pp. 816.)

This large volume is a useful guide to any fundamental study of the foreign relations of Guatemala in particular and Central America in general. It contains not merely summaries of treaties, both bilateral and multilateral, but excerpts from diplomatic correspondence, numerous references to sources and secondary works, and pertinent historical notes. The index is useful but incomplete.

J. F. R.

Art from the Mayans to Disney. By JEAN CHARLOT. (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1939. Pp. 285. Illus.)

Jean Charlot, French painter and lithographer of Russian-Mexican descent who has lived much in Mexico and the United States, has varied his activities by participating as a staff artist in the excavations at Chichen Itza and by lecturing at the Disney Studios. He has here collected twenty-six of his articles, previously published in French, Spanish, and English from 1923 to 1939, translated where necessary, and strung the subjects along the thread indicated by the title. By placing in the hands of interested English-speaking persons those of his ideas which would be beyond their reach in Mexican periodicals, the author has no doubt performed a service. But to have reduced the illustrations in the English original of such a readily available article as *A XII Century Mayan Mural** from eleven to one half of one, is to have limited the value of the descriptive text. A table at the end of the book listing the periodicals from which the material has been reprinted may well be used as a directory to the original articles.

L. H.

Urquiza y Alberdi: intimidades de una política. By RAMON J. CARRANCO. (Buenos Aires: Librería "La Facultad," 1938. Pp. lix, 642.)

There is no printed collection of the letters of Juan Bautista Alberdi, one of the most influential thinkers in Argentine political history. In the publication with which this notice is concerned, Alberdi's letters to General Urquiza are printed chronologically. They cover only ten years (1852-1862) of Alberdi's life, but probably the most important decade of that life. It was during these years of Urquiza's power that Alberdi, because of the general's friendship for him, was able to bring to bear the full weight of his political ideas as well as to obtain opportunities to serve Argentina as a diplomat and thereby do much to make Urquiza's government acceptable abroad.

The editor has refrained from interpretation and comments upon the letters. Wherever it is necessary to acquaint the reader with persons and events spoken of, explanatory footnotes appear. Some letters included in this collection have been published elsewhere, but to give unity to this publication, they have been included here. The absence of letters from Urquiza to Alberdi is due, says the editor, to the fact

* *Magazine of Art*, November, 1938, pp. 624-629.

that they cannot be found. Doctor Caranco has an excellent introduction summarizing Alberdi's place in Argentine history.

W. M. G.

Travel in Brazil. (Rio de Janeiro: Brazilian Representation, New York World's Fair, 1939. Pp. 200. Illus. Paper.)

The avowed aim of this official publication is well fulfilled. It sets out to direct the prospective visitor to the most rewarding spots in Brazil by the most comfortable itineraries. Accordingly only fifteen pages of large, readable type are given over to the historical sketch and the facts of topography and resources, and the remainder of the book is devoted to the photographic documentation of city and countryside in most of the twenty states. A route map introduces the material on each accessible region, and the excellent plates depict for each the characteristic landscape and products, as well as the better examples of architecture and sculpture from colonial to modern times. While the volume would be more usable with the inclusion of a brief table of contents indicating the order in which the regions are treated with their respective groups of plates, it will nevertheless be a boon to those in search of good illustrative material on Brazil.

L. H.

Código Penal. República de Colombia, Ministerio de Gobierno. (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1938. Pp. 286.)

In Colombia the penal code of 1837 was substantially in force with very little modification until 1890 when an extensive revision was made. The next attempt at modernization was in 1912 when Dr. José Vicente Concha submitted a code greatly influenced by the Italian Code of 1890. Concha's code was not approved until 1922. By then the science of penology had made such progress that this code was outmoded and never entered into force. In 1933 a commission was appointed to draw up a *proyecto*. The present Penal Code of 1938 is the result of this commission's work.

To protect society adequately, the code places legal responsibility upon all individuals coming within its operation. Historically, criminal law has been very lenient and even inapplicable to insane, abnormal, intoxicated and minor persons. The present code establishes legal responsibility of all individuals who commit antisocial acts regardless of the condition of the individual. This is its most progressive aspect.

W. M. G.

Derecho público constitucional y administrativo. By DANIEL ANTOKOLETZ. (Buenos Aires: Librería "La Facultad," 1939. Pp. 728.)

Dr. Antokoletz has written a very admirable summary of Argentine administrative and constitutional law. This volume does not purport to be a complete study of the law. It is designed as a manual and ready-reference book for public officials and lawyers. There appears at the beginning of each chapter a summary as well as a bibliography on the topics to be discussed in the chapter. Documentary material and citation of court decisions have been copiously recorded.

This work is of value to several classes of persons. To those well grounded in Argentine constitutional law, it will serve as a most convenient reference book and will do much to acquaint them with the development of the law since the publication of the larger classic works in constitutional law such as that of Dr. Juan A. González Calderón. Dr. Antokoletz's study also fills the needs of those persons who have no occasion to go deeply into the study of Argentine law, but who do have the desire to know in a general way the nature of that law. The author's frequent citation of important laws and court decisions in Argentine history makes this study important for the political historian.

W. M. G.

NOTES AND COMMENT

CONFERENCE ON INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN THE FIELD OF PUBLICATIONS AND LIBRARIES

Under the auspices of the Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State a Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Publications and Libraries was held at the Library of Congress in Washington on November 29 and 30, 1939. Some 150 librarians, authors, and publishers attended the sessions at which numerous addresses were presented and worthwhile discussions took place. At the opening session, presided over by Stanley K. Hornbeck, Adviser on Political Relations, and Ben M. Cherrington, Chief of the Division of Cultural Relations, both of the Department of State, a series of addresses on the general phases of the problem was given. Archibald McLeish, Librarian of Congress, in welcoming the Conference to the Library, pointed out the importance of books in the furtherance of Inter-American relations and emphasized the necessity for the Library to have complete collections of materials from the other American republics. Henry F. Grady, Assistant Secretary of State, speaking for the Department, stressed the importance of cultural relations and indicated the part to be played by the Department and by private organizations in furthering them. José Balseiro of Porto Rico discussed the literature of Latin America which could be of value to persons in the United States, placing special emphasis on biography and translations. The high note of this session was the address of Dr. John A. Mackey, President of Princeton Theological Seminary, on what the United States can contribute to Latin America. He pointed out the language problem and the close cultural relations which have existed between Latin America and Europe. He emphasized the importance of literature with spiritual values as best interpreting our country. Books on cultural development, books on the growth of American institutions, biographies, poetry, and regional novels were indicated as being well suited to present our life and thought to our neighbors. Finally, he asserted that the persons sent to interpret our culture are just as important as the books which are sent.

The afternoon session, over which Dr. Lewis Hanke of the Hispanic Foundation presided, was devoted to the discussion of facilities for

cultural interchange. The work of publishers was described by R. O. Rivera of Duke University Press and Henry M. Snyder of New York. The latter gave an account of the cooperative book exhibit which a group of publishers sent to Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, and Buenos Aires and explained the great interest which it aroused. The place of libraries and their contribution in promoting cultural relations were discussed by Charles F. Gosnell of the American Library Association, Lewis Hanke of the Library of Congress, Leo S. Rowe of the Pan American Union, and Ruth Savord of the Special Libraries Association. The character and utility of journals and magazines were brought out by various speakers. Dr. Samuel Guy Inman of the University of Pennsylvania described some of the outstanding Latin-American magazines; Mortimer Graves of the American Council of Learned Societies pointed out the contribution learned journals can make to a better understanding; Brantz Mayer of *Fortune* Magazine outlined the work done by this magazine in presenting articles on Latin-American countries; John Abbink of Business Publishers International Corporation explained the dependence of Latin America on technical publications from other countries and the use of American technical journals as text books, especially in engineering; and Joshua Powers of Editors Press Service described the makeup of leading Latin-American newspapers and called attention to the increasing use of American news services, comic strips, fashion notes, and science articles.

Rev. Edmund A. Walsh of Georgetown University presided at the dinner where personal adventures in the other Americas were discussed. Dr. Hubert Herring of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America analyzed the current movement for the development of cultural relations and the place of the State Department in it. He seemed to feel that the basis is largely commercial and was not sure that the Latin Americans are greatly interested in the wooing. Blair Niles, author of *Peruvian Pageant*, gave an account of experiences in gathering materials for the volume. Dr. Waldo G. Leland of the American Council of Learned Societies told of his recent trip to South America and set forth some of his impressions.

The second day was given over to discussion groups. Two general topics regarding books and publications were considered; (1) Problems of publishing and marketing, and (2) problems of acquisition and use. The participation and interest in both topics were lively. Under the first heading such subjects as increase of markets, credits, methods of shipment, purchases in Latin America, translations, and improvement of copyright protection were discussed. Under the sec-

ond heading booklists and bibliographies, increase of use of books relating to Latin America, exchange of governmental publications, interchange of journals, and library coöperation were considered.

There was a final general session presided over by Charles A. Thomson of the Division of Cultural Relations at which reports from the group meetings and the Conference Findings Committee were made. The report of the first group, presented by Curtis W. McGraw, of the McGraw-Hill Book Company, dealt with permanent book exhibits, reduction of postage rates, problems of credit, exchange and duty, reduction in the price of books, bibliographies, and the present copyright situation. That of the second group, read by Carl H. Milam of the American Library Association, discussed acquisition of Latin-American publications, need of having a copy of every book published in Latin America in at least one library in the United States, importance of current publication of bibliographies, preparation of lists of Latin-American books for small libraries, increase of translations from Latin-American literature, encouragement of publication in the United States of Latin-American biographies, and interchange of librarians, publishers and others who deal with books.

The Findings Committee recommended the establishment of a Temporary Committee on Reports and Recommendations to receive and digest the reports of the Conference. It was instructed to consider all recommendations and to study the possibilities for the establishment of a clearinghouse to be used by publishers and libraries.

In concluding the Conference Dr. Cherrington made the following statement:

"Our duty is to cherish and nurture the best that is our cultural heritage. In the process of sharing, the plans for effecting programs of interchange rightfully reside in private initiative. The sphere of your Government in these plans is merely that it lend its good offices when it may be of assistance in any appropriate way. Our concept of culture is that it is universal and therefore its promotion must spring from the desires of peoples and not as an instrument of policy of the governing body of any particular state."

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives.

CONFERENCE ON INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

Upon the invitation of the Honorable Cordell Hull an unprecedented concourse of educators took place in Washington, November 9-10, 1939. There were more than 597 distinguished educators, publicists, and administrators in attendance. As an indication of the strength of the motives which brought these persons together, attendance from remote states like California showed no proportional abatement.

The welcoming address was delivered by Mr. Sumner Welles, while the principal official address was made by the Secretary of State on the first day of the Conference. The theme of cultural interchange and the promotion of peace pervaded not only these addresses from representatives of the national government, but also the speeches of the laymen in the conference. So important has the coördination of educational and intellectual activities become, Secretary Hull indicated, that the Department of State has departed from tradition in establishing the Division of Cultural Relations as a clearing house in fields usually left exclusively to private institutions and organizations. Although no reassurance was necessary, it was gratifying to American scholars interested in Hispanic America that the head of the Department of State could point to the coördination of interest in cultural matters on the part of the officers of the foreign service of the United States, particularly in Latin America, as a result of the creation of the Division.

Professor Herbert E. Bolton, long an outstanding and inspiring mentor of the University of California, representing lay interest in cultural relations with Hispanic America, delivered the principal address, "Cultural Coöperation with Latin America." Silhouetting Hispanic-American cultural achievements against those of the United States, Mr. Bolton, in his inimitable style, gracefully carried his listeners with him.¹ In the afternoon an exceedingly well documented paper, "The Progress and Problems of Education in the Other American Republics," was read by Mr. Ernesto Galarza.

On the second day the Conference was divided into six groups which considered exchange of students and professors, academic and public education in inter-American affairs, the adjustment of stu-

¹ This paper appears as the first article in the current issue of the REVIEW.

dents from abroad, extension of the use of American journals and publications in acquainting the United States with scholars and writers in Hispanic America, coöperative projects with the other American Republics in the field of medical education and research, curriculum materials for Latin-American studies and teacher exchanges.

In addition to the report of the general Findings Committee, the rapporteurs of the various groups reported back to the Conference on the recommendations made in these smaller gatherings. The first group on education urgently recommended the distribution of descriptive literature on American educational facilities to students of both sexes in the other Americas, the appointment of a committee by the Institute of International Education to canvass possible donors with a view of increasing exchange fellowships and scholarships, and asked the United States Government to appoint an educational attaché to its diplomatic staffs. The second group confined itself to recommendations on the increase of the study of Portuguese and Spanish as the best key "for the true understanding of a people's culture. . . ." The third group recommended the coördination of the various departments of the government in an effort to make clear to the prospective foreign student the problems to be expected in the United States, and specifically suggested a study of the advisability of establishing a loan fund. The group studying publications centered its attention on the organization of means for easy contact with Latin-American writers, periodicals, and publishers, recommending the preparation of classified lists for this objective and approving the exchange of book exhibits. The medical group pointed out the type of opportunities which exist for Latin Americans for medical education in the United States (largely graduate), or in the field of nursing, hospital administration, and dentistry. The recommendations made called for an analysis of medical education in the American republics, recommended the exchange of the media of medical study, and suggested the expansion of nursing and public health education in Hispanic America. With regard to the selection of students and professors (under the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations) a Continuation Committee was suggested. Group VI was concerned primarily with recommending the mutual study of American and Hispanic-American history, especially after a survey of the experiments already conducted in this field in the high schools.

THE CORONADO CUARTO CENTENNIAL*

Beginning May 29, 1940, and continuing throughout the year, appropriate ceremonies will be held in New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, Colorado, and Kansas, celebrating the explorations of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado in this area of the United States, four hundred years ago.

The celebration will call attention to the fact that there is within the United States, a great area, hereinafter referred to as the "Coronado Country," not so populous as the eastern seaboard, but covering a large territory where there exists a common cultural background with Latin America, and where we find ourselves tied to their people by a common tradition of conquest, a common use of the Spanish language and Spanish place names, a similar history of missionary endeavor in behalf of Christianity, and a common approach to native arts and crafts.

The Coronado Cuarto Centennial Commission was established in New Mexico in 1935 to plan for the celebration. Early in 1939 the other states appointed coöperative commissions, and the Federal Government by act of Congress created the United States Coronado Exposition Commission and made an appropriation to cover the cost of all phases of Federal participation in the plans for the 1940 event. The Managing Director of the National Commission is Mr. Clinton P. Anderson, formerly Director of the Coronado Cuarto Centennial Commission of New Mexico, which prepared the basic plans for the 1940 celebration during the years 1936 to 1939. All inquiries concerning the Coronado Cuarto Centennial should be addressed to Managing Director Anderson, United States Coronado Exposition Commission, 203 West Gold Avenue, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

The plans which later were approved with necessary modifications by the National Commission and the coöperating state commissions consist of the following:

I. HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

There will be published an historical series entitled, "Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications," consisting of ten to twelve volumes. The Editor of the series is Dr. George P. Hammond, head of the De-

* Statement made to the Inter-American Conference in the Field of Education.

partment of History of the University of New Mexico. A leading contributor will be Herbert E. Bolton, University of California, who will write "The Coronado Trail" and "The Dominguez-Escalante Trail." Other nationally-known historians will produce works on the Coronado and post-Coronado periods, including significant and hitherto unpublished historical material. Among these are such authorities as Aiton, University of Michigan; Bloom, University of New Mexico; Espinosa, St. Louis University; Hackett, University of Texas; Hodge, Southwest Museum; Rey, University of Indiana; Scholes, Carnegie Institution; Thomas, University of Alabama; and Wheeler, University of Michigan.

II. MONUMENTS AND MUSEUMS

(a) *International*.—An international monument to Coronado will be built on the border between Arizona and Sonora at or near the point of Coronado's entry. A park and a memorial museum will be outstanding features of this monument.

(b) *National*.—A national monument to Coronado will be erected on the site of Kuaua north of Bernalillo near where the conquistador spent two winters during 1540 and 1541. This monument will be in the nature of a museum consisting of arms and implements used by Coronado during his exploration, a large painting of the "Entrada" by the late Gerald Cassidy, and various artifacts from the old Indian province of Tiguex of which Kuaua was a part.

(c) *Improving Existing Monuments*.—A general plan of improving existing State and National Monuments, including road improvement to these and other historic sites and the establishment of appropriate markers, is well under way throughout the Coronado Country. Federal and State agencies are working in close cooperation with the Coronado Commission in this phase of the program.

(d) *Local Museums*.—Another interesting museum development will be in the nature of aid given by the Coronado Commission to the Museum of the Panhandle Plains Historical Society located on the campus of West Texas Teachers College at Canyon, Texas. The Museum will seek to portray the great cattle industry of Texas and the Southwest, showing the relationship between horses and cattle, which Coronado brought into this part of the United States. It will be unique among American museums. Aid will be provided for museum development in other localities in the region covered by the explorations of Coronado.

III. PAGEANTRY

Pageants will be held throughout the Coronado Country during the summer of 1940. These pageants are being written by Dr. Thomas

Wood Stevens, of Stanford University, assisted by Mr. Paul Horgan, author of many works dealing with the Southwest and Librarian of the New Mexico Military Institute. Dr. Stevens wrote and directed the pageant given at Yorktown in celebration of the Sesquicentennial. He wrote and directed the Magna Carta celebration on the Pacific Coast given by the American Bar Association, as well as the Fort Niagara pageant presented by the Government. For fifteen years he has maintained a permanent home in New Mexico while traveling to various parts of this country and to Europe in dramatic work.

Ten or twelve major pageants will be staged in the larger cities of New Mexico, Arizona and Texas, while numerous smaller pageants will be given in smaller centers of population throughout the Coronado Country. Each pageant will contain material pertaining to the general theme of the Coronado exploration, while many of them will contain special material adapted to the local setting. Tourists visiting New Mexico and the Southwest at any time during the summer of 1940 will be able to witness at least one major pageant and several of the smaller pageants and folk festivals, all of which will be beautiful, thoroughly artistic, and filled with an abundance of local color.

IV. FOLK FESTIVALS

Folk festivals will be held during the entire period of the Coronado celebration, under the general direction of Miss Sarah Gertrude Knott, National Folk Festival Director of Washington, D. C. The general plan is to have small festivals in as many communities as possible with a certain number of regional festivals to which the smaller community festivals will send their best participants. The best from the regional festivals will be sent to a State or Southwest Folk Festival to be held at the end of the Cuarto Centennial celebrations at the most logical place in the region.

The objectives are to give as many people as possible a chance to actually participate in the celebrations and as many as possible a chance to see one; to bring about a better understanding among the people of the entire region—Indian, Spanish and Anglo-American—through an interchange of traditional expressions which reflect the inherent characteristics of each; to show the intermingling of the three cultures through the traditions they have in common, how each has influenced the other, yet how each has clung to its own heritage; to preserve, revitalize and give stimulus to the traditions in this most significant age of transition between pioneer life and a new, more standardized America.

The words of President Roosevelt have guided those who are directing this phase of the Coronado celebration:

"We in the United States of America are amazingly rich in the elements from which to weave a culture. We have the best of man's past on which to draw, brought to us by our native folk and folk from all parts of the world. In binding these elements into a national fabric of beauty and strength, let us keep the original fibers so intact that the fineness of each will show in the complete handiwork."

V. RE-CREATION OF THE ENTRADA

The Coronado Cuarto Centennial Commission of Arizona has adopted as a part of its official program a re-creation of the *entrada* of Coronado into the territory of what is now the United States. Coronado left Compostela in Mexico with 250 horsemen, 70 infantrymen, and several hundred friendly Indians, but he pushed ahead of the main army with 50 soldiers. Therefore, the problem of production will be materially reduced.

This group of 50 will be selected and provided by the Mexican Government and will come up from Compostela to the border at the time of the dedication of the international monument. They will proceed on to Hawikuh, Acoma, Kuaua in New Mexico and as far as the Palo Duro Canyon in Texas.

At a meeting with the President of the United States in April, 1939, the President stated that one of the things he wanted to see done was a re-creation of the *entrada*, and the Arizona Commission has provided a plan whereby this may be possibly realized.

VI. CORONADO CONGRESS

During the period covered by the Coronado celebration a series of conferences of religious, educational, scientific and social import will be held. The conferences will be grouped under the general title "Coronado Congress" to be held from August 6 to 15. The more important of these conferences are listed as follows:

1. Bandelier Centennial
2. Fine Arts
3. Cultural Relations
4. Spanish Language and Literature
5. History
6. Southwest Literature
7. Anthropology

VII. INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS

As will be noted from the program already presented, many phases of the Coronado celebration have been planned with the view of

strengthening the "good-neighbor" policy of the United States with other American nations south of the Rio Grande. The active participation of our nearest neighbor, Mexico, in several conferences and other features of the program is being sought by the Commission. A number of delegates to the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Pan-American Union, and to the Eighth Pan-American Scientific Congress, to be held in Washington, D. C., in the spring of 1940 will be invited to attend Coronado Cuarto Centennial events in the Southwest during their stay in this country.

New Mexico and the other states included in the Coronado country, with their essentially Hispanic background, still preserve much of the tradition as well as the language of the Conquistadores, who four centuries ago brought European culture to both North and South America. The four hundredth anniversary of the coming of Coronado furnishes an unprecedented opportunity to further the cultural relations between the United States and those countries lying to the South, whose historic background is so linked with ours. Through the Coronado celebration we plan to unite our colorful past with the realities of the present, and in so doing assist in laying new foundations of cultural and spiritual relationships with our sister nations in this hemisphere.

JAMES F. ZIMMERMAN.

The University of New Mexico.

SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PROFESSORS OF IBERO-AMERICAN LITERATURE

Plans are rapidly maturing for the Second International Congress of Professors of Ibero-American Literature, to be held at the University of California at Los Angeles from August 12 to August 17, 1940. The Congress is the biennial gathering of the Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana, the inaugural meeting of which was held at Mexico City during the summer of 1938.

Professor Manuel Pedro González, president of the Instituto during the biennium, has been named by President Robert Gordon Sproul of the University of California as chairman of a committee on arrangements, other members of which include professors from the two campuses of the University of California at Los Angeles and Berkeley.

The committee on arrangements has not yet announced the details of the program but it is known that a wide variety of musical, artistic, and social features is being planned in addition to the professional aspects of the program which will engage the attention of the Congress proper. Other educational institutions and civic organizations in the Los Angeles metropolitan area are coöperating with the University of California at Los Angeles in completing plans for the week's program.

Professor González has made particular efforts to assure as wide an inclusion as possible of professors and literary and public figures from Latin-American countries on the summer session faculties of United States universities during the 1940 summer terms. A considerable number of universities has assured him of their retention of guest professors from Latin America either in a teaching capacity or for series of lectures to be delivered either in Spanish or English. The Committee has circulated a list of available Latin-American professors among interested universities.

Other officers of the Instituto for the current biennium include Dr. John A. Crow of the Department of Spanish of the University of California at Los Angeles, secretary; Professor E. K. Mapes of the State University of Iowa, first vice-president; Dr. Julio Jiménez Rueda of the National University of Mexico, second vice-president; and Professor John E. Englekirk of Tulane University, treasurer.

Other members of the committee on arrangements, in addition to Drs. González and Crow, include Professors Herbert I. Priestley,

Arturo Torres Rioseco, George M. McBride, Joseph B. Lockey, Malbone W. Graham, Laurence D. Bailiff, Dean J. Harold Williams, Mrs. María López de Lowther, and Dr. Russell H. Fitzgibbon, secretary.

RUSSELL H. FITZGIBBON.

A GRACIOUS AND NECESSARY GESTURE

A report of Mr. Paul V. Murray from Mexico City calls attention to a grave but general oversight on the part of American scholars working in the archives of Spain and Hispanic America. American investigators, according to a confidential report of Mexican archivists, rarely send to the archives where they have worked the book which is the fruit of opportunities offered in those depositories. This failure is natural enough in the United States, but in Hispanic America, where *canje* is the very breath of intellectual work, it is a breach of courtesy and neglect of opportunity. Quite frequently the budgets for the purchase of books and reference works are inadequate in these archives, making it not only a gracious gesture but an obligation to deposit in foreign archives all books based on the documents housed in them. It is the only way for American research workers to avoid being misunderstood.

MICROFILM SETS OF PERIODICALS

The Committee on Scientific Aids to Learning, President Conant of Harvard, chairman, has made a grant to cover the cost of making a microfilm master negative, on the most expensive film, of sets of volumes of scientific and learned journals.

This permits the non-profit Biblionfilm Service to supply microfilm copies at the sole positive copy cost, namely one cent a page for odd volumes, or a special rate of one-half cent a page for any properly copyable ten or more consecutive volumes.

The number of pages will be estimated on request to: Biblionfilm Service, care U. S. Department of Agriculture Library, Washington, D. C.

THE INSTITUTE OF INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

For a number of years the universities of Florida have taken advantage of their geographical position to develop special interest in Hispanic America. One such manifestation is the Institute of

Inter-American Affairs of the University of Florida, founded June 2, 1930. That institute, under the direction of Rollin S. Atwood, has now published a booklet on its history, aims, and facilities for Hispanic-American studies as Volume II, No. I, *Inter-American Institute Series*.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

Mr. Samuel Eliot Morison wishes to have the following addenda and corrigenda made in his article, "Texts and Translations of the Journal of Columbus's First Voyage," *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XIX (August, 1939), 235-61:

Page 236, note 6. The MS of Las Casas's Abstract of Columbus's Journal of the First Voyage is still in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, and the Harvard Columbus Expedition has brought home a photostat of it. This was taken by Tomás Magallón Antón (Rodríguez San Pedro, 46, Madrid), who has the negatives and can furnish positives for about three hundred pesetas.

Page 240, line 3, for 1519 read 1513.

Page 250, line 6 from the foot, for *because* read *became*.

Page 256, line 2 from the foot, for 5280 read 6080.

Mr. Ralph E. Warner wishes to make the following corrigenda in his bibliographical article, "A Bibliography of the Works of Luis González Obregón," *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XIX (November, 1939), 577-94:

On page 582, No. 71c should have a separate number and stand before No. 71 without the note labelling it a reprint.

In the *Addenda*, the translation of *The Streets of Mexico* should be described as follows: Translated by Blanche Collet Wagner. Illustrated by Ethel E. Pletsch. San Francisco, George Fields, 1937. (vi), 200 pp. port.

Mr. J. M. Espinosa calls attention to the fact that in his article, "The Recapture of Santa Fé, New Mexico, by the Spaniards . . .," *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XIX (November, 1939), 446, 447 in footnotes 11, 13, 14, and 15, *Parral* should read *El Paso*. The correct footnote reading should be, "Vargas to the Count of Galve, El Paso, October 13, 1693."

